Daily Report

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Balkan Foreign Ministers To Meet 24-26 Feb

LD131821 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—A meeting of Balkan countries foreign ministers will take place in Belgrade from 24 to 26 February. The TANJUG diplomatic editor has been informed by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs that all the countries have agreed on the proposal for the meeting to be held during the above period.

At the meeting, the foreign ministers are expected to exchange views about the ideas, means, and possibilities for further developing multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in all the spheres in which the Balkan countries' interests and needs coincide. This particularly refers to cooperation in the areas of economic relations and of trade, as well as industrial cooperation and specialization, energy industry, transportation, agriculture, tourism, ecology, science and technology, culture, sports, and other areas.

It will be the first meeting ever of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries. The initiative for the meeting was provided by Yugoslavia in the spring of last year, followed by numerous bilateral consultations.

All the Balkan countries have officially replied to the Yugoslav initiative, confirming their participation at the meeting.

TANJUG Report of Attack on Bridge 'Lies'

AU130845 Tirana ATA in English
0745 GMT 13 Jan 88

["TANJUG's Lies"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 13 (ATA)—The Yugoslav News Agency TANJUG has diffused a piece of news, according to which "opponents" to the regime in Albania have allegedly blown up a bridge. TANJUG cites as the source of this disinformation the Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA.

This information is nothing but a malevolent artifice.

Petty Bribery in Retail Sector Deplored

AU131035 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
9 Jan 88 p 3

[Alfons Imami article: "An 'Unwritten' Rule . . . (!)"]

[Text] Two citizens had the following conversation outside the "Shoes Made to Measure" store:

The first: "Who made those beautiful shoes for you?"

The second: "The shop where you had yours made."

"How is that possible?"

"A cup of coffee with a purpose behind it achieves the impossible."

Before discussing this conversation, let us say in parenthesis that we are not denying the good work of a high cultural standard that generally characterizes our working people in the retail sector and in other communal services. We are not denying the increasing quality of their service to the people. They are becoming ever more cultivated as the people's servants. But it is a fact that among these persons with the noble task of serving the people there are also those who seek to serve themselves in a petit bourgeois way. The people themselves have repeatedly commented on this, but their words sometimes fall on deaf ears. What is worse, public opinion does not always or everywhere combat such phenomena. There are those who think that "the heavens will not fall for 5 leks," "for a cup of coffee," or "for a glass of brandy." Such ideas do not give this phenomenon its true name. However mild a form it may take, whoever the compromising or compromised person may be, its name is bribery. But what is the attitude of comrades in the administration and the enterprises to this? To tell the truth, it must be said that they too are slack. In some cases they say that "We called him in, but he denied he had accepted bribes." Or: "We insisted that he should account for himself, but he wormed his way out of it, saying 'What are you getting at? I did not ask him for anything. He just gave it to me himself.'" Bribery has become something normal for some of these irresponsible working people, and in many cases it can be said that the speed and quality of their work depends upon it. This unwritten law sometimes assumes other shapes. For instance, it is common among some shop assistants to give better service to their son or daughter's teacher, or to employees of the executive committee, while not behaving properly to others. So—good service, according to acquaintanceship. It then happens that a shop assistant solves his problems through different styles of service, which is something alien to our society. Such trickery makes a poor impression on people. It gives a poor impression of both sides, both of the person who gives a bribe, and he who accepts it. Such dangerous behavior, especially when performed by people who "have something in their hand," encourages the notion that you have to put your hand in your pocket to have a problem solved.

Of course, few people engage in such lamentable and dangerous behavior. But dozens of people witness it, and some of them fail to speak out. Their silence helps these petit bourgeois. Will they get away with it? They will if a negligent attitude is shown toward them, and when public opinion does not harshly condemn such behavior whenever it occurs. The lack of systematic supervision of the work and activity of every worker and cadre leaves room for such unwritten rules. It also leaves room for sentimentalism.

Of course it is not the right of citizens alone to combat such behavior. It is the right of the laws and healthy standards of society, of which these "unwritten rules" fall foul.

Warsaw Pact Human Rights Experts Hold Talks
AU131958 Sofia BTA in English
1855 GMT 13 Jan 88

["On Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—On January 12 and January 13, a meeting was held in Sofia of the working group of experts from the Warsaw Treaty member states on questions related to human rights and humanitarian cooperation. The experts discussed the work at the Vienna meeting on these questions and exchanged opinions on the possibilities for acceleration of the working out of respective agreements.

Bulgarian Red Cross Notes 'Israeli Terror'
AU131628 Sofia BTA in English
1558 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—The organization of the Bulgarian Red Cross is ready to receive for treatment in Bulgaria Palestinians wounded during the tragic events in the Israeli occupied Arab territories. This is stated in a declaration of the Bulgarian Red Cross which stresses that the consequences of the Israeli terror are exceptionally heavy: victims, hundreds of wounded, overcrowded hospitals, lack of hospital beds, extremely bad living conditions in the Palestinian camps.

Zhivkov Receives Iraqi Parliamentarians
AU131800 Sofia BTA in English
1744 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—Satisfaction over the development of the Bulgaro-Iraqi relations was expressed by Bulgaria's State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov. At a meeting with the visiting here Iraqi parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Sa'dun Hammadi, chairman of the National Assembly, the Bulgarian head of state stressed that this visit will contribute to the strengthening of the relations between the two countries' parliaments, as well as to the development of the cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest. Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke about the radical changes taking place in all spheres of life in this country which he assessed as revolutionary. The leader of the delegation spoke of the socioeconomic reforms in Iraq. The need of immediate halting of the conflict between Iran and Iraq was stressed at the meeting. It was also emphasized that the disputable issues must be settled through political means. Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of Bulgaria's National Assembly, was also present at the meeting.

Public Transportation Problems Arise in Sofia
AU131211 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 88 p 1, 3

[Editorial commentary on report compiled by Atanas N. Atanasov on replies by Tseno Zakharinov, chairman of Sofia's "City Transportation" Economic Organization, to detailed complaints from readers on deficiencies in public transportation, entitled: "Along the Tracks and Outside Them"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the construction that has started is of great importance for the future of Sofia's public transportation system, because the specialized organization is under enormous strain to provide transportation in the city with the roads, vehicles, and personnel that it has available. Of course, subjective weaknesses, omissions, and unused reserves do exist, but these are hardly of deciding importance for improving services.

Transportation and communications construction has been lagging behind for many long years. The shortages in building resources are well known, but these are hardly the only reason. The arguments over the communication and transportation networks have dragged on for a long time. Certain specialists have quite unnecessarily contrasted the metro to the trams and trolleybuses, with the result that the construction of both systems has fallen behind.

Let us recall certain decisions made in the past. In 1981 the Council of Ministers adopted Decree No. 45 on improving the Sofia City public transportation system. Appended to this decision was a program for developing the system during the Eight 5-Year-Plan period (an updating of the unfulfilled complex program of 1975). It was planned to construct 23 km of tram routes and 25 km of trolleybus lines. More precisely, the tram route to Gara Iskur should have been completed in 1984, the route to Lyulin Railway Station in 1984, the route to the Mladost Estate in 1986, the one to Malinova Dolina in 1987, and so on. Later an engineering project was drawn up to solve certain pressing problems in the development of Sofia's transportation during the 1984-86 period and up to 1990. Certain adjustments were made to the transportation network, but the most important point was that the governmental deadlines for completing construction of certain important transportation installations were extended. What is more, most of the deadlines in the engineering project were not met.

Let us not to mention the fact that many important communications projects are transferred from one 5-year plan to the next, such as the reconstruction of Baba Parashkeva Boulevard and Botevgradsko Shose, the extension of Pencho Slaveykov Boulevard to Slivnitsa Boulevard, and the rearrangement of the most heavily used road junctions.

Why do we return to all this now, when the long awaited projects are under construction or will soon be started? Because it is precisely now that no further delay can be tolerated. Thus, the investors and building organizations must organize their work and allocate resources to guarantee that the commissioning dates are met.

Previously the idea was to quickly construct the tram and trolleybus network and then direct the forces to the metro. This did not happen. We began simultaneously to build the metro and tram lines to the estates. However, the one cannot be achieved at the expense of the other.

Therefore the means and resources must be sensibly allocated so that everything proceeds on schedule, in the same way that we want the city transportation to keep to schedule.

As can be seen, the solution to the greatest problems in public transportation lies outside the tracks of the latter—it lies in the hands of the investors, planners, and builders. When we wait at the stops, we are also waiting for them to do their jobs.

Water Shortage at Devnya Chemical Plant Cited

AU131309 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 88 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Varna (special correspondent Mara Georgieva and oblast correspondent Dimitur Khadzhinikolov)—The alarm signal sounded as far back as 1984. The water supply in the main water source of the Devnya Economic Trust has been falling sharply. This has increased the real risk of a production stoppage.

At the National Water Council, Deputy Chairman Stamen Stamenov explicitly states: "A decision of the Council of Ministers is in existence that obliges all large plants to provide themselves with their own water sources. The Devnya Economic Trust has persistently refused to implement this decision."

We would not like to be accused of not being objective, so we will also quote the information provided by the trust, which is also explicit in its factual nature: "Over the past 4 years we have reduced annual water consumption by 50 million cubic meters, which represents almost 41 percent of our consumption in 1983." [passage omitted on history of the problem]

In the meantime, an order of the Council of Ministers dated 7 April 1987 was issued, concerning provision of an emergency industrial water supply to the Devnya Economic Trust for use during prolonged drought. [passage omitted] However, the construction has not started.

Yordan Dobrev, director of the "Khidrostroy" Economic Administration in Varna, offers this explanation: "We cannot begin to carry out the Council of Ministers' order for two main reasons. The first is that the overall project for emergency water supplies lacks clarity. In this situation we have no legal right to start construction. The second reason is the lack of resources. [passage omitted] My own view as a specialist is that a start should be made on building the main installation, namely the "Komunari" water supply network, since the emergency version costs almost the same in terms of time and money." [passage omitted]

In the meantime the project for the second section of the emergency water supply project has already been prepared. A new order of the Council of Ministers' order already exists that provides for additional measures. However, the most important thing is that these should be carried out, because the present situation categorically demands that real action be taken at last. [passage omitted]

Further on Jakes' Visit to Moscow

Contrasts 1968, Perestroyka

LD131959 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Prague, January 13 (TANJUG)—The Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are unanimous in the assessment that there is no similarity between the "Prague Spring" of 1968 and the Soviet "perstroyka" [restructuring], General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes has stated.

In a statement following the just ended Czechoslovak-Soviet summit in Moscow, which was carried by the press here today, Jakes underlined that the two countries are on the same road and that the social-economic changes in the Soviet Union are of major significance for his country.

The movement of social-economic reforms in Czechoslovakia, initiated twenty years ago and liquidated several months later, was among the topics discussed at the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks because of two reasons. The question was made topical recently by the observance of the anniversary of the "Prague Spring" and also the fact that former reformists, who no longer participate in Czechoslovakia's public life, increasingly frequently claim that the current reforms in the countries of "real socialism" have proved them right.

Jakes' statement today is seen by observers here to be a reply to them, especially Alexander Dubcek, head of the Czechoslovak party at the time of the "Prague Spring". Foreign sources claim Dubcek wrote a letter to Soviet Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev recently.

Comments on Moscow Talks

LD122057 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Interview with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, given to unidentified reporters of Czechoslovak Television, RUDE PRAVO, and CTK in Moscow; date not given; conducted in Czech—recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General Secretary, what is your view on the course of the meeting and results of talks with Comrade Gorbachev?

[Jakes] I would say that it was a very useful meeting, and a necessary one, also with regard to the fact that I took over the office of general secretary only recently and that it was necessary to hold consultations about a joint approach on a number of areas of joint interest. I would like to say that our meeting took place in a truly informal, comradely, and open spirit. We touched upon all sides of the policy of our cooperation and the policies of our parties. This is not by chance. We are going along the same path. We wish to accelerate socioeconomic development in the interest of the life of our people. They have to have opportunity, the extensive opportunity to speak about it, because they will also bear immediate responsibility for their activity, for example, in the factories. The fact that the Soviet Union set out on this path earlier and has a number of good experiences is of great importance for us.

On the other hand, what also matters is to once again emphasize and demonstrate the support of the policy of the CPSU which is very close to us whether on internal policy of international policy, and in particular also to make further steps toward the all-around development of cooperation in all areas of activity of our communist parties. This is one of the important prerequisites, in particular for us, so that the work goes well for us.

[Question] What areas and concepts in economic cooperation with the Soviet Union will be developing in the most immediate period?

[Jakes] It can be said that we are not starting from scratch in this cooperation. It is very extensive cooperation, and specialization on our part in relations to the Soviet Union is also extensive, in the export of some important commodities. At the moment the insufficient thing is the new form of cooperation. That means direct cooperation, and also this concerns the carrying out of a division of labor between us and the Soviet Union. So one of the most important measures is to work out a concept of this division and labor between our country and the Soviet Union for 15 to 20 years and to also link this with work on this concept within the framework of CEMA. This is exceptionally important. On the other hand, the forms that we have been using up to now will not be enough for us, and the aims of this cooperation will also not be sufficient. Up to now, in practice there has been implementation of an intersector division of labor; that is, their raw materials and energy for our machinery and consumer goods. That was the basis of it. This possibility is practically exhausted. We have to save raw materials and energy. That is our policy; that is, not to increase the consumption. The possibilities of the Soviet Union—and everyone is pressing them here—are also limited, and so we must go into the internal sector division of labor. That is, we must begin an exchange of machinery, new technology, and partly begin an exchange of consumer goods and food specialities. This is the new course on which we are embarking here. We are also concerned with completely new forms of this cooperation. This concerns, in particular, the things that have already been emphasized; that is, embarking on the path of direct relations between our enterprises, and this demands the removal of various bureaucratic barriers that prevent this. These steps are being taken. We must also approach the building of joint enterprises faster, and we are at the very beginning of this, and where necessary the building of enterprises with the participation of third countries, in some cases also developed capitalist countries.

We will continue to participate in the integration actions that are the gas and metal ores. In the future, we wish to make the transition to areas that no longer concern the raw material base but those that above all concern the production of goods, that is, the processing industry. This is the new thing. It is not an absolutely new thing, but it is necessary to make faster progress in this, and I would say that the discussion was aimed at looking at such possibilities. A number of such topics came up, and it will be necessary to evaluate them more deeply.

This is one area. But we do not want to stop with the economy; we want all-around cooperation. I would say that we want to deepen mutual cooperation between our people, so that they get to know each other better, so that tourism grows, and it is necessary to create the conditions for all this. We also gave attention to this. It is also necessary to develop the attention given in the area of ideological work. I am not thinking of ideological work itself but this concerns practically its whole superstructure as part of it, in the areas of culture, education, media, and art. All this is exceptionally important, and we agreed that we will work out a joint document, in the same way that we work on economic documents, about the development of this cooperation. I think that this is a significant step, a step which I would say is in its own way of a new quality. It will be very important for us to realize such a program; it is needed and it will benefit both countries.

We also evaluated a number of questions that not only concern such large national economic problems but also human problems. For example, there was the Soviet Russian exhibition in Czechoslovakia. Exhibiting there was that man (Yelizaret) who extends human bones; also exhibiting was an eye doctor. We also evaluated this, and we think it appropriate—we hold the same view on this—for them to come to Czechoslovakia and possibly set up some kind of clinic there, to carry out complicated operations, so that our doctors can learn such skills. That has a different effect on people's lives because there are a number of people who need such operations. So I would say that truly in the humanitarian area, in the human area of cooperation, this concerns people not indirectly but in an immediate way. We will also take such steps in other areas.

We also exchanged views on international policy. In some areas there is absolute agreement. We intend to come forward with a number of initiatives that would contribute. I would like to recall one that the Soviet comrades supported. In a few years it will be 400 years since the birth of Commenius. So, for example, why not have a world or European conference of pedagogues in Prague with the aim of deepening the education of youth toward peace. There are other areas where Czechoslovakia can provide its own suggestion. We do not always have to wait, and the Soviet Union emphasizes this, to see what the Soviet Union will put forward. On the contrary, the Soviet comrades are requesting initiatives from individual countries in this, and we have this possibility. It is not a small possibility in this area.

This also concerns question such as a look at our year 1988, which has been created, so to speak, for the development of ideological work, for highlighting our history: the 70 years of the republic, 40 years since the victory of the working people, 50 years since Munich, 20 years since the crisis development.

Here, also as far as the crisis development is concerned, our viewpoints agree. There is nothing to be changed in this area. We have not condemned anyone generally for a long time now; we have simply said that everyone has the possibility to participate on a socialist basis in public life, to work for the benefit of socialism. I think that here we have a wide, a truly wide base so that cooperation develops in all areas. There is an agreement of views on fundamental questions. There is also the standpoint that it is necessary for everyone to approach solving their problems in a creative way, so that things are not simply dogmatically transferred. Everyone has their own historic development, even though in the main and decisive thing the tendencies remain the same and in some cases even the methods with which it is realized are similar. From this viewpoint, the experience of the CPSU is of immense importance for us.

We were also convinced of this during a meeting with the officials of one of the districts of Moscow when they gave us an account of their experiences of how they are working for the realization of party policy; that is, restructuring and democratization; how under these conditions the party functions, what they give their attention to, and how they act.

[Question] I would like to ask, with what personal impressions are you returning home? These are not usually part of official communiques.

[Jakes] Well, they are very good impressions. It is true that they cannot be expressed in any communique. I would say we were received everywhere in a very friendly way as a close ally, as a friend. Comrade Gorbachev himself has a sort of personal charm. He is good to speak to; he talks in a practical way, and he does not force his views on others. He argues in a factual way, and he is willing to listen to views and to discuss them. So talks with him are of a creative sort. A man gets ideas about what needs to be improved, what must be done; suggestions occur to one. The openness with which the talks took place, and in the final analysis also the open meetings with Comrade Zaykov, with Comrade Ligachev, or even at the district party committee, or at the engineering exhibition that we visited where they exhibit products made in the last 2 years that represent the best in the world or a close to the best in the world, all this left me with a very good impression and only confirmed

what we all now: that it is necessary to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union and to value it very much on our part, because I would say it is the foundation of stability, the development of Czechoslovakia and also the fulfillment of our goals.

Naturally, we ourselves must also work on speeding up socioeconomic development and make use of their rich experience on their path of restructuring and democratization. So I am very pleased. I am leaving the Soviet Union with feelings that there is much still to do; there are many great reserves in cooperation that could speed our progress forward, not only in our own interest, but also in the interest of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. In the international area, our activity, our participation is valued. Simply put, the whole conversation invited us to go forward more aggresively with the belief that we in Czechoslovakia are capable of it, and that much that faces us can be achieved jointly with the Soviet Union.

I would like to add one thing: Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev asked me to pass on, not only to our leadership and Communists but all our people, his best wishes for much success and good health which I do with great pleasure.

[Question] Comrade General Secretary, sincere thanks for the interview.

CTK Cites TASS on Talks

LD140232 Prague CTK in English 1938 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow Jan 13 (CTK)—The talks in Moscow earlier this week between Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev showed a unanimity of their views on major bilateral and international issues and paid major attention to ways of expanding bilateral economic and trade ties, the Soviet news agency TASS said today.

TASS Commentator Aleksandr Kondrashov said the two leaders agreed during their debate on Tuesday "new progressive forms of cooperation" should be intensified between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to boost the so far too low goods exchange between them.

"It is no secret the process has so far moved slowly and failed to produce the desired effect," TASS said. It named direct ties between enterprises, joint ventures and increased mutually beneficial industrial cooperation as the proposed new paths of economic development the two countries planned to pursue.

Tass said the new approach should also be applied during work now under way on a long-term concept of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation designed to lay out the guidelines for bilateral ties in economy, science and technology during the next 15 to 20 years.

It said Jakes's working visit to Moscow reflected the tradition of regular meetings of the two countries' leaders but stressed: "continuity, however, is far from stagnancy and uniformity." "On the contrary, the line of social restructuring embarked upon in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia...urgently demands a bold search, new approaches and the removal of the deadwood and obstacles preventing bilateral cooperation from gaining full speed."

It said the talks also covered cultural ties and contacts between the two countries' citizens and added the process of democratization now under way called for a "full development" of the "tradition of friendship and mutual sympathy."

On foreign policy issues, it said, the talks reflected both "continuity and a novel view of the future", with the two leaders determined to make further moves in joint efforts aimed at boosting European security.

The talks held by Gorbachev and Jekes "clearly reflected the unity of action and plans" between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and their determination to further develop their close ties, TASS said.

Greets Jaruzelski From Plane

AU141010 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Telegram From Aboard the Plane"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, sent the following telegram from aboard the plane to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic:

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski,

I am sending you warm comradely greetings while flying over the territory of the Polish People's Republic on the way to a working visit to the USSR.

I am using this opportunity to send to the fraternal PZPR, to the Polish people, and to you personally heartfelt wishes of many successes in the socialist construction of your homeland and in the efforts to secure lasting peace in the world.

Soviet Media Coverage of Jakes Visit

For media accounts of the visit of CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes to the Soviet Union, including his meetings with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, see the East Europe section of the 12 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Comparison of Jakes' Closing Plenum Speech

AU211401 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 December on pages 1 and 2 carries the 2,200-word "Speech by Comrade Milos Jakes," general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered at the close of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 18 December. This has been compared with the version published in the 21 December 1987 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 14-17, and is identical, except for differences in paragraphing, and the following variations:

Page 15, column two, paragraph one, sentences three and four read: ...manifestations of overcautiousness and mistrust. There are also...(changing "lack of commitment" to "mistrust" [neduvera])

Page 16, column one, paragraph two, last sentence reads: ...are fulfilled uniformly, that production meets the requirements of consumers and customers, that the quality of production is markedly improved, and that we make better use of our considerable production potentials—raw and secondary materials, energy, and the abilities of the people...(supplying additional RUDE PRAVO supplied passage, rephrasing)

Page 16, column one, paragraph three, sentences one and two read: ...the construction sector.

Comrades, we have agreed that in the interest of fulfilling the tasks, it is a matter of stirring, metaphorically speaking, the whole party...(supplying words "metaphorically speaking," changing paragraphing)

Page 16, column two, paragraph two, last sentence to the end of the speech reads: ...their aggressive approach.

Comrades, in concluding I would like to express yet again thanks to Comrade Gustav Husak for his long years of dedicated work at the head of the party's Central Committee and to wish him good health so that, together with us, he may continue to take part in party and state work. I would also like to express thanks for the words of support that I received in order to carry out the responsible post that you have entrusted to me. I know that strength lies in the collective spirit, unity, organized structure, and efficiency [delnost] of the entire Central Committee and its Presidium, for this is what influences the activity of the party as a whole. It is true that in every labor collective there may arise personal sympathies, but also antipathies and objections. However, these must not stand in the way of normal operations, they must not slow down the solution of actual problems. The interests of the party and society must always have priority.

Comrades, through our efforts and our activity we want to contribute to making the year 1988 yield further steps leading toward easing international tension, toward nuclear and chemical disarmament, and toward strengthening peace and progress. In the forefront of this struggle is the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. This policy has and will have our full support. I would like to conclude with the words of Klement Gottwald: "The greatest support, the greatest capital is the trust that the party commands among the masses. This trust is being created primarily by the party keeping its word and fulfilling its promises, so that what the party once says also comes about."

I am convinced that when we proceed united in the spirit of these words, people will fully support us and the tasks that we have discussed will be fulfilled.

Thank you, comrades, for the work you have accomplished. I wish you good health next year, personal contentment for you and your loved ones, and many successes, joint successes, in implementing the conclusions of the 17th party congress in the interest of the flourishing of our homeland and the happy life of its people...(supplying RUDE PRAVO version of the closing paragraphs)

FRG's Kohl Speaks of Planned Visit to CSSR

LD112025 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Helmut Kohl, FRG chancellor, briefed journalists at today's press conference in Bonn about the aims of the policy of his government in 1988. Our correspondent Petr Nemec summarized the foreign policy passages:

[Nemec] [passage omitted] The FRG chancellor also emphasized that his first foreign journey in 1988 will lead to Czechoslovakia. He said that in the fall it will be 50 years since the signing of the Munich dictate that tragically affected the relations between the two countries. It will also be 15 years since the signing of the treaty on relations between the CSSR and the FRG that created the base for the future. Helmut Kohl said that his visit—it will actually be the first journey of an FRG chancellor since the treaty was signed 15 years ago—will particularly help the examination of the possibilities of the development of relations, for which there are good prerequisites. The FRG chancellor told journalists that he will meet representatives of the state and the leadership of the CPCZ Central Committee. He also intends to speak to representatives of the church. I will leave for Czechoslovakia with great expectations and I believe that my journey will help to develop relations in general, said FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl during the press conference with domestic and foreign journalists in Bonn today.

Jakes Arrives in Bratislava for Working Visit

LD131646 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, this afternoon arrived in Bratislava for a working visit.

He was welcomed at the airport by the Presidium members of the CPCZ Central Committee and Peter Colotka, Slovak Premier; by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPSL Central Committee secretary; by Gejza Slapka, member of the CPSL CC Presidium and chief secretary of the Bratislava city party committee; and Mayor Stefan Bartak.

Comrade Milos Jakes will visit today Slovnaft enterprise in Bratislava where he will acquaint himself with the tasks of the plan of the 3d year of the Eighth 5-year Plan and with the implementation of the investment program. He is accompanied by Comrade Jozef Lenart.

Visits Bratislava Enterprises

LD140025 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived today in Bratislava for a working visit. In the afternoon, he visited the Slovnaft branch enterprise. The meeting of our highest party representative with the working people of the republic's biggest petrochemical enterprise is now described by editor Viliam Racek:

[Racek] On the enterprise's premises, the esteemed guest was welcomed by the working people of the enterprise and representatives of the Ministry of Industry and the Slovnaft branch enterprise. Comrade Milos Jakes was accompanied on the premises of our largest petrochemical enterprise by these presidium members of the CPCZ Central Committee: Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee, and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; and Gejza Slapka, candidate presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee, secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and chief secretary of Bratislava City Party committee.

In conversation with the working people, Comrade Milos Jakes showed interest in their labor and social conditions, as well as in the education of future chemical industry cadres in the secondary specialized school. While touring the enterprise, Comrade Milos Jakes stopped at the building site of (Hydrokrak) complex which, after being completed, will make possible deep processing of crude oil without any negative effect on the economy. The project is behind schedule, and in this connection, the party general secretary stressed the inevitability of adhering to the government deadline, and he designated this year as decisive from the point of view of the progress of the project.

In conversation with assembly workers Miroslav Posad and Jan Kalous, the social aspects of restructuring were discussed.

[Begin recording] [Jakes] Which enterprise are you from?

[Kalous] From Chemont Brno. We are carrying out an assembly of [several words indistinct].

[Jakes] Is it going well?

[Kalous] Yes, it is going well. It is good, but it all depends on us, but mainly on deliveries.

[Jakes] How many of you are working here?

[Kalous] Well, there are 250 of us here, and in Hydrokrak, specifically, there are about 120 of us.

[Jakes] Of course, these numbers will gradually increase.

[Kalous] Yes, the numbers will increase according to the deliveries of materials.

[Jakes] Are they looking after you well? Are you satisfied and happy?

[Kalous] Yes, they do look after us, but the living conditions could be a bit better. [sentence indistinct] another point is that one should have something to buy for what one earns. Some justice must also be implemented in that everyone should live according to how one works, and what one brings to society. And another thing is wages, some kind of social policy—that we can work and are working. I have been a member of the party since 1945: I do complain, but what can I do? We must try and do away with the causes of the shortcomings so that there are enough goods, so that there is balance between the work accomplished and the wages for the work accomplished. I think that if people do work of varying quality and quantity there should also be differentiated wages. One should really receive remuneration according to one's contribution to society so that all goes to the merit of the person himself or herself and not to the merit of some convenient connections or subsidies and so on. That would not make any sense. That is true.

[Jakes] I thank you very much. Goodbye. [end recording]

Comrade Jakes then viewed the large-capacity ethylene unit no. 2, which produces significant semi-manufactured articles for the production of fibers, synthetic rubber, washing powders, and a broad scale of other products in the remaining enterprises in the whole country. When inspecting the enterprises, he highly praised the effort of the working people of this production line who, by means of increased activity, fulfilled last year's tasks. On the premises of the ethylene unit, Milos Jakes entered his name in the chronicle of the brigade of socialist labor.

Concluding his working visit to Slovnaft, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met for a conversation with leading economic, party, trade union, and youth union officials, as well as outstanding employees of the enterprise. They briefed him, among other things, on the preparation of the Communists for

annual deliberations and on the most significant tasks that they are expecting in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism in our country. Comrade Jakes praised the activity of the Slovnaft working people who were the first to use new elements and methods of work. He stressed the inevitability of activation of all the forces in our society for the fulfillment of the resolutions that were put forward for this period by the 17th CPCZ congress and the 7th session of the party Central Committee.

Official Outlines Changes in Services

AU140951 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 88 p 1

[Interview with Bohumir Klima, deputy minister of interior of the Czech SR, by Daniela Mannova: "For Citizens' Satisfaction; Guidelines for Conduct of Business in Local Production and Service Enterprises"; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] As reported previously, [on 5 January] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed measures to improve the standard of services and to restructure their economic mechanism, measures that had been adopted by the Governments of the CSSR, the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR. Under these measures, new guidelines for the conduct of business, full-fledged economic accountability, and self-financing are being introduced in local production and service enterprises. The aim of this effort is to make available to citizens a better range of services than has been the case thus far, to improve their quality, cut delivery time, and the like. Today we discuss the contents of these measures with Bohumir Klima, deputy minister of interior of the Czech SR.

[Mannova] What is the main purpose of these measures?

[Klima] The chief aim is to improve and streamline organizational structures and increase the economic independence of service enterprises and organizations so as to achieve that their economic plans are based primarily on survey of market needs, on citizens' demand for services, and on economic contracts and orders.

The organizational system is being changed. Services will be provided by local production and service enterprises, agricultural and other cooperatives, as well as other enterprises and organizations, including state enterprises, social organizations associated in the National Front, and the like. Another form of the provision of services that, as has become apparent, is advantageous for both citizens and society is the individual activity of citizens.

In practice there will thus exist specialized enterprises, notably in manufacturing and repair branches, and small enterprises with little demand for technology and supervision that will provide building craft jobs, small-scale manufacturing, and services. In addition, there will also exist multibranch enterprises of the combine type that will be involved in manufacturing and in the provision of services at one and the same time.

[Mannova] Until now services have been mainly in the care of national committees, which have also borne the main responsibility for them. Will they be relieved of at least some of their worries?

[Klima] No. There will only be a substantial cut in the amount of administrative chores that were connected with the existing system of direct control. National committees will be in charge of activities arising for them by virtue of their role as the founders of these enterprises but, in addition, they will also have to discharge the function of coordinators and supervisors, and do so with far more initiative and assertive power than up until now. Above all, they must have a clear view of the type of services that are essential for citizens in their locality and seek out organizations that are able to provide these. They will conclude with them contracts, in which they will be able to insist on the provision of certain services. As long as the enterprise honors this contract, its business operations will not be subject to any limitations, neither territorially nor in terms of what jobs it may perform.

[Mannova] The relationship between national committees and enterprises involved in the provision of services will thus be a supplier-consumer relationship, in a way?

[Klima] It cannot be expressed so unequivocally. After 1990, if the national committee demands the meeting of certain tasks that are not economically advantageous for the enterprise, the national committee will have the possibility of subsidizing this unprofitable service. However, this will only be after all other possibilities have been exhausted. The national committee can, for example, depending on the conditions and needs of a community and its catchment area, set up its own operations. It can enlist citizens for individual activity on the basis of authorization. There should also be an expansion of the economic renting out of business premises to individuals, which can be done by both national committees and local production and service enterprises. The point is to make use of all possibilities for the best possible provision of services in each locality.

[Mannova] Experiments in the area of services took place in the South Bohemia and East Slovakia regions last year. What have these experiments shown?

[Klima] They showed, above all, that there is no need to fear a system in which enterprises themselves draw up their plans on the basis of set normative rules [normativy]. On the contrary, such plans are more ambitious than when the method of itemization of the plan [by the supervisory agency] is used. On the contrary, it gives the national committees more room to look after the practical aspect of the development of services.

[Mannova] To a considerable extent, services depend on the availability of materials and spare parts. These are precisely the things that are in short supply. Is the decision to introduce the rules of the new economic mechanism already this year, and to do so full-scale and not on an experimental basis, not premature? Are the enterprises not doomed to fail beforehand?

[Klima] I do not think so. If we had to wait for the problems of material supply and spare parts to be resolved, we would probably be waiting for a long time, which we cannot afford. Services must therefore be given help. The federal government has approved a number of immediate measures to eliminate the most urgent shortcomings standing in the way of a more rapid development of services. The responsibility of manufacturers and suppliers of material and spare parts for the servicing, repair, and maintenance of their products is being increased.

[Mannova] But we know very well that even in the service enterprises themselves there are many unused hidden reserves, which we have not managed to fully tap since the Sixth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1982.

[Klima] Yes. The system of management did not peg the material incentives of service organizations sufficiently for the satisfaction of the citizens' needs and efficient economic activity. Furthermore, the national committees were not sufficiently motivated to make use even of those instruments of management and systemic measures that were made available to them on the basis of the conclusions of the Sixth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The existing possibilities for greater differentials in the pay of employees of the services sector are still not being put to use. Investment funds are often allocated for inefficient purposes.

Naturally, one of the greatest reserves in the development of services has been the organizational setup. The complicated branch and territorial structure of service organizations is the product of more than 30 years of development, in the course of which subjective motives have often played a role in decisions on services. These decisions thus often did not conform with the actual economic and social needs of citizens and society. The multi-tier system of management is inefficient, overhead costs are high, and there is much paperwork. I am convinced that under the new conditions enterprises of local production and services will also be far more energetic in enforcing sanctions vis-a-vis suppliers of materials and spare parts, because the enterprises themselves but also their staff will have a material stake not in plan fulfillment, but in the final economic results.

[Mannova] Still, is it not risky to start with the new economic regulations in services, out of all branches? True, people will immediately discern good results, but they will immediately discern bad results just as well.

[Klima] We are not being careless. The converse is true. The transition to the new economic mechanism in services will not be a simple matter. But I am convinced that the sooner we start working under the new conditions, the better prepared we shall be to cope with the tasks and conditions of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. It is very difficult to free oneself from the method of merely "perfecting the existing system" and to replace it with a new system. But there is no other way. The effectiveness and the success of restructuring depend on the labor collectives, on individual employees, on their coming to understand that for services performed well and in good quality they will also receive the appropriate reward. And not only they, but their enterprise as well.

[Mannova] How will the enterprises of local economy and services benefit from the new system?

[Klima] I would say that the new system provides a chance not only to spur the enterprises' activity, for which many people have been calling for years, but also to gain independence. It opens the way toward socialist entrepreneurship. And, of course, it is primarily also a chance for the society, a chance to satisfy people's needs quickly and well. Services must be accessible, fast, and performed with good quality.

[Mannova] Will the enterprises' quest for profitability not lead to the easiest solution—to raising the prices of services?

[Klima] Prices for services have been set as the highest admissible prices, and this ceiling must not be exceeded. On the other hand, however, it is possible to reduce prices, especially for seasonal reasons, to agree on the price with the customer, to grant rebates in the case of volume orders, and the like.

The Government's resolution No. 330 naturally contains many more important regulations and tasks, especially in the areas of planning, prices, the enterprises' material incentives, and the labor force. Practical and systemic measures to establish conditions for restructuring the economic mechanism in local production and services have been adopted as well.

[Mannova] Thank you for the interview.

Honecker Trip to Paris, Disarmament Viewed

DW121348 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Guenter Leuschner weekly international review]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Let us discuss the most important aspect of Honecker's visit [to France]—the disarmament issue and the problem of what the two countries could and should do in that respect. The GDR remembers very well the active contribution France made in the sixties and seventies toward improving East-West relations. The statement made by Mitterrand, that he was perfectly aware of the GDR's interest in disarmament, seems to indicate that official France, too, recognizes and respects the absolute priorities of our foreign policy.

That certainly was a good basis of the talks, and considering the fact that dialogue has always also to do with the search for common interests we may say that the Paris dialogue certainly was very useful. It revealed agreement on a number of important problems. Both sides agreed, for instance, that the process of disarmament should be continued. France and the GDR agree on the necessity to reduce strategic weapons by 50 percent soon, and both sides also agree on the necessary reduction of conventional forces in europe, including the elimination of asymmet ries. France and the GDR intend to achieve a ban on chemical weapons and to reach success soon at the vienna csce meeting. Both countries believe that they and all of Europe should work actively for more detente and more confidence.

The best ways to reach those goals are sometimes viewed differently in Paris and Berlin. Given the divergent political positions, that should surprise no one. Whereas the GDR urges negotiations on the reduction of short-range nuclear weapons, diplomacy in Paris demonstrates a reserved and reluctant attitude that seems to be connected with France's nuclear power status. The fact that Paris still adheres to the philosophy of nuclear deterrence as an element stabilizing peace obviously is interpreted differently by the GDR public; but it also is by no means undisputed in France.

Some commentators may have an interest in stressing such differences. That is nothing new, nor does it mean anything new. In particular, it changes nothing about the importance and success of Honecker's trip. Both sides see it that way, and that is what matters.

Let us discuss other events of the past week. Erich Honecker's letter to Federal Chancellor Kohl is similar in contents and concern to the interests represented by the GDR in Paris. Here, too, the point is not to allow a break in disarmament. We do not want the modernization, but the reduction of the short-range weapons deployed in both German states. If that is compatible with the FRG's intentions—as we conclude from official statements—this would be a common starting point for joint action. In fact, we are worried that disarmament which has now begun could be eliminated by building up armaments in other areas. We have every reason for such concern. To eliminate them and thus also our uncertainties, should also be in the Federal Republic's interest.

We welcome it very much that Foreign Minister Genscher in recent days has repeatedly clearly supported a chemical weapons ban because the entirely incomprehensible start of production of new chemical weapons in the United States at this very time creates of course an element of uncertainty and gives cause for concern. The fact that we are not the only ones to see it that way is illustrated by the fact that international reaction to that decision has been generally critical and negative. The pope yesterday also advocated a ban on chemical weapons soon. For the United States to welcome the Soviet disclosure of its chemical weapons arsenals and at the same time to refuse to reveal its own stocks really has nothing to do with transparency, but much rather with a guilty conscience. [passage omitted]

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Views Honecker Visit

AU131222 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 88 p 2

[Editorial: "Dialogue for Peace and Cooperation in Europe"]

[Text] Erich Honecker's state visit to the French Republic is valued as an important event by the international public which has an impact that extends beyond the borders of the two countries. The dialogue Honecker conducted with President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, and other figures in a frank, businesslike, open, and constructive atmosphere resulted in the agreement that it is necessary to make peace on our continent and in the world more secure and to strengthen cooperation for the well-being of the peoples. As Erich Honecker stated in his statement released at the end of his visit, a contribution has been made in Paris to the growing climate of reducing tensions, of confidence building, and good-neighborliness. Through the comprehensive exchange of views an important basis has been created for the further development of constructive relations between the two states.

The fact that there is a chance today to lastingly embark on a new path leading away from the arms race to confidence, detente, and disarmament, and to an improvement of the international situation, underlines the significance of this visit. It was stressed in Paris that owing to their exposed geographical situation in Europe, their historical experiences and their responsibility, they can and want make an active contribution to this.

As our highest representative pointed out to the French head of state, our people will never forget that the French people has experienced much suffering through Hitler fascism and German militarism. As Wilhelm Pieck put it 35 years ago, the GDR will never again allow another German war to be waged against the French people. This is the principle of our actions. War must never again start from German soil.

In Paris there was mention of the obligation to reconsider the lessons of history in a new way now that the questions of peace and war have taken on a nuclear dimension. The call by the great German scientist and humanist Albert Einstein for a new way of thinking if mankind is to survive and develop is more topical than ever before. Therefore it is good and important that issues concerning the safeguarding of peace and disarmament assumed a central role in the dialogue conducted in the French capital.

A few weeks ago, the door was opened to comprehensive disarmament and corresponding verification. The GDR and France value the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles as a first step toward switching from arms buildup to disarmament. They welcome the intention expressed at the Washington summit by the Soviet Union and the United States that they will sign an agreement on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons in the first half of this year, while at the same time strengthening the ABM treaty. It is also seen as an encouraging sign that progress has been made with regard to a halt to nuclear tests and the banning of chemical weapons. The GDR and France are in favor of continuing the disarmament process in the nuclear and conventional spheres.

Erich Honecker explained the position of the GDR and its allies on these issues in Paris. At their 11 December Berlin meeting the Warsaw Pact states jointly called for immediate action so that the opportunities that present themselves in Europe are not wasted by increasing and modernizing other types of weapons. As the State Council chairman pointed out, owing to its location on the sensitive dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and in view of the high concentration of armed forces and weapons on both sides of this dividing line, the GDR takes special interest in the drastic reduction of conventional weapons. In cooperation with its allies, it is ready to stick to the level required for defense. The problem of asymmetries and imbalances in individual types of weapons should be solved in a way that the side that has an advantage reduces its weapons. At the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting the mandate for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals should finally be brought about.

During the talks in Paris Honecker also took the opportunity to present the ideas of the GDR on the advantage of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe. Such regional steps could prepare global solutions, thus promoting the process of disarmament. The proposal submitted together with the CSSR, which was initiated by an initiative of Olof Palme, provides both for the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons as well as the removal of dual-use carrier systems. Such a corridor between important weapon systems would essentially improve security on our continent.

We want to continue to build the common house of Europe, Erich Honecker stressed and called the Helsinki Final Act, which is based on the results World War II and the postwar development, a good foundation for the house rules. Even if differences emerged during the talks in Paris with regard to views on various topics because of the different social systems and different ideopolitical positions, the concurring interest in a common house, in more stability, security, and cooperation still prevailed. The readiness of the socialist states not to exclude any type of weapon and any verification issue is in keeping with this interest, the goal of a nuclear-free world, of a world without war and violence.

The state visit was the visible expression of the good state of bilateral relations between the GDR and France. Over the past 15 years a manifold and fruitful cooperation characterized by mutual recognition and respect for the realities has developed. A remarkable level has been achieved but in accordance with the potentials and interests of both countries all opportunities of beneficial cooperation have not as yet been exhausted.

The trade and economic relations naturally play an important role in the development of cooperation and thus also in the talks on these topics. A number of meetings took place in the French capital, including those with the competent ministers and representatives of the French economy, during which tribute was paid to the balanced volume of trade exchange amounting to 6 million French francs in the year 1987 and further increases for the coming years were agreed upon. In his statement at the end of his state visit, Erich Honecker pointed out that new impetus has resulted for trade and economic cooperation from the talks conducted in Paris.

In France the GDR head of state met with the representatives of the state, but also with leading figures from parties, and from political, social, and cultural life. The visit testifies to the high state and the diversity of bilateral relations. The statesmen agreed to continue the dialogue on various levels. President Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac accepted with thanks invitations to visit the GDR. The contractual foundations for the relations are to be expanded, and scientific-technological and cultural cooperation are to be intensified. All this will be for the benefit of the two peoples.

During the state visit to France, President Mitterrand pointed out that Erich Honecker was last in Paris 50 years ago and that the young fighter against brown barbarism has become the highest representative of the socialist German state. This added another very special dimension to the state visit. It was reflected by the hospitable reception and the friendly encounters with French citizens.

When he laid a wreath at the grave of the unknown soldier beneath the Arc de Triomphe and when he paid tribute to the Communards at the Mur des Federes at the Pere Lachaise cemetary, Erich Honecker met with veterans of the antifascist resistance fight. As he said, they jointly recalled the time when France offered protective exile to many German antifascists who were threatened with death sentences or prison by the Nazi regime. We commemorated the

courageous daughters and sons of the French nation who fought at the side of German antifascists against Hitler tyranny after the invasion of fascist troops in France.

The recollection of the joint struggle in the anti-Hilter coalition is still alive in the friendly relations between our countries. Also alive is our sympathy for the people who gave fresh impetus to the progress of mankind through the revolutionary ideas of enlightenment, the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 and the Paris Commune. This is why the 200th anniversary of the Great French Revolution will be duly commemorated in the GDR as well.

The best German-French traditions found their manifestation in the talks between the statesmen. Does our dialogue not provide a sign that things that divide us and some outdated ideas should be removed in favor of a coalition of all forces of peace, reason, and realism, Erich Honecker asked on the first day of his visit to Paris when he replied to to Francois Mitterrand's toast at the Elysee Palace. Following the conclusion of his visit and in view of its outcome this question can clearly be answered by yes.

Honecker Receives FRG Minister-President Rau

LD141141 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin 14 Jan (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the SPD, today. In the Council of State building in Berlin's Karl-Marx-Platz, Erich Honecker warmly welcomed the FRG politician, who arrived on a visit to the GDR last night.

Johannes Rau is accompanied by Guenther Einert, the North Rhine-Westphalian minister for federal affairs; State Secreatry Dr Klaus-Dieter Leister, the head of the State Chancellery; Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, the head of the FRG's permanent mission; and Dr Friedhelm Fahrtmann, the SPD group chairman in the state Parliament. Taking part in the talks are State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, chief of the chancery of the GDR Council of State chairman; Guenter Rettner, SED Central Committee department director; and Karl Seidel, Foreign Ministry department director.

Minister-President Rau will attend the opening of the Joseph-Beuys exhibition in the Academy Gallery in Berlin Marstall this afternoon.

GDR-USSR Government Commission Convenes

Schuerer, Antonov Chair Session

AU131313 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 88 p 1

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—The 41st meeting of the Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and USSR opened in Berlin on Monday [11 January]. On the GDR side the commission is chaired by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission. The Soviet part is headed by Aleksey Antonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The delegations included other members of the Council of Ministers and leading state and economy officials from both countries.

The discussions focus on the further consistent implementation of the agreements reached between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, aimed at developing a new phase of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and USSR, and on the realization of the relevant stipulations laid down by the party and government delegations of both countries in June 1987. On the basis of the long-term cooperation program between the GDR and USSR in science, technology, and production through the year 2000, of the branch programs and other basic agreements, as well as in accordance with the CEMA resolutions, the commission will discuss measures designed to improve and purposefully develop economic cooperation on a long-term basis. In the comprehensive intensification of the national economies of both countries it is important to develop key technologies faster and apply them efficiently.

The deepening of direct relations between GDR combines and enterprises and their partners in the USSR is another topic of discussion. During the meeting the members of both sides of the government commission were briefed in combines, enterprises, and institutions on how the agreements have been fulfilled so far, and new opportunities for expanding cooperation in solving decisive economic tasks were discussed. [passage omitted]

Cooperation Documents Signed

LD131735 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1445 GMT13 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jan (ADN)—THE 41st session of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation ended in Berlin on Wednesday with the signing of important documents. They contribute to the reaching of a new stage in cooperation in the fields of the economy, science, and technology between the GDR and the USSR, as agreed between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

On this basis, and on the basis of long-term programs for the development of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the field of science, technology, and production up to the year 2000, of the secondary programs and further basic agreements, and in line with CEMA resolutions, the government commission laid down new

measures for even closer cooperation. The joint efforts are aimed at increased development and application of key technologies in order to produce top-quality goods.

The protocol on the results of the discussions of the joint government commission was signed by the relevant chairmen: Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Aleksey Antonov, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The two ministers then signed an agreement and three protocols on existing agreements.

In a press conference with journalists from the GDR and the USSR, Gerhard Schuerer and Aleksey Antonov assessed the discussion as successful in dealing with future and current problems in important fields of increasing output.

They explained that the many initiatives and measures on cooperation which had been discussed at the 41st session open up new possibilities for ever closer linking of the potential of the two countries and at the same time represent a contribution to the further strengthening of socialist economic integration.

The Soviet delegation began its homeward journey on the same day.

Honecker Greets GDR-Soviet Friendship Society

AU141015 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jan 88 p 1

["Congratulations For GDR-Soviet Friendship Society; Greetings Message From Erich Honecker on 30th Anniversary"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following greetings message to the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society:

Esteemed friends and comrades: It is with great pleasure that I convey most cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee to all members of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of your organization.

For 3 decades your Friendship Society has made a valuable contribution to deepening the unshakable friendship between the peoples of the USSR and GDR. It promotes in a manifold manner meetings between the citizens of our states and provides opportunities for getting to know the socialist achievements of our fraternal peoples.

The GDR-Soviet Friendship Society has earned special merit through its active participation in developing close friendly relations between thousands of collectives in all spheres of the social life of our two countries. I would like to thank the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society warmly for its successful activity.

The people of the GDR value the friendship with the Soviet Union, with which we are most closely linked through our joint advancement on the path of socialism and in the struggle to safeguard peace, as one of the most precious revolutionary achievements. All communists and citizens of our state are pleased that fraternal cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples has reached such a high level and that it is characterized by clear prospects.

The consistent endeavors of the Soviet Union aimed at safeguarding peace, the joint tireless efforts of the Warsaw Pact states to implement its peace program are beginning to bear fruit, as has been demonstrated by the signing of the historic treaty by the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. This struggle meets with greatest respect and unrestricted active support among the people of the GDR. In close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, the GDR will continue to do everything that war will never again start from German soil and that further progress is made on the road to disarmament, detente, and an improvement in the international situation.

Dear friends: The working people of the GDR are following the struggle of their Soviet friends in the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress in close alliance and fraternal solidarity. I would like to take the opportunity to wish all members of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society further successes in the socialist construction of the Soviet Union and for their work in strengthening our fraternal alliance, and good health and well-being.

With communist greetings, E. Honecker

Honecker Greets CSSR's Husak on Birthday

AU111212 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Jan 88 p 1

[ND report: "Cordial Congratulations and Greetings to Gustav Husak"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following greetings message to Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR and member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee:

Dear Comrade Gustav Husak:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the people of the GDR, and on my own behalf, I convey to you cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on your 75th birthday.

The successful development of socialism in the CSSR and the overall strengthening of your country's international reputation are most closely linked with your longstanding work at the head of the CPCZ, the tested vanguard of the CSSR working people, and as CSSR president. You have gained everlasting merit in organizing and leading the antifascist liberation struggle of the Slovak people. Over the past 2 decades you have used all your strength and your great militant experience to implement the CPCZ's policy, the main goal of which is raising the prosperity and social protection of the CSSR citizens.

The Communists and all citizens of our Republic know and respect you as a steadfast communist, an outstanding representative of the workers movement, and a meritorious statesman. They know about your great contribution to the close, trusting cooperation between our Marxist-Leninist parties, our two states, and our peoples.

On your day of honor we would like to warmly thank you for our tested, trusting cooperation. We wish you, dear Comrade Gustav Husak, good health, personal well-being, and creative energy in your responsible work for the benefit of socialism and of peace.

With communist greetings, E. Honecker

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Berlin, 10 January 1988.

Honecker Greets Cuba's Castro on Anniversary

AU131231 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 88 pp 1-2

[ND report: "Greetings to the fraternal people of the Republic of Cuba"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following message to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC] and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro,

On the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba I convey to you, the PCC Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Cuban people cordial greetings from the party and state leadership and the people of the GDR.

The establishment of diplomatic relations has strengthened the international positions of our states and has promoted their successful progress in building socialism. A special contribution to this has been made by the fulfillment of the treaty on friendship and cooperation, which we concluded in May 1980 during my friendship visit to Cuba which I remember fondly.

United in the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the GDR will continue to use all its strength to free the world from the scourge of war. Therefore, we welcome and support the treaty on the elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union and the United States as an important step on the path toward disarmament, detente, and an improvement of the international situation.

We follow with great attention the efforts of the Cuban people to implement the guiding decisions of the Third PCC Congress and share their pleasure in every progress. Rest assured that we will continue to give due importance to consolidating the friendship and deepening the cooperation with the fraternal Cuban people. We know we agree with the Cuban comrades on the fact that by further developing the socialist social system in our two countries we are at the same time making our main contribution to strengthening and defending socialism and peace in the world.

I convey to you, dear Comrade Fidel Castro, and to all communists and citizens in your country our cordial greetings and best wishes for creative energy , personal well-being, and new success in building socialism.

With socialist greetings, E. Honecker.

Central Committee Greets Bangladesh CP Leader

AU111307 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jan 88 p 4

["Congratulations to Bangladesh on Election; SED Central Committee to General Secretary Saifuddin Ahmed Manik"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has sent the following congratulatory telegram signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, general secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh:

Esteemed Comrade Manik: I convey cordial congratulations to you on your election as general secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh.

I couple the congratulations with best wishes for the struggle of the Bangladesh Communists for peace, democracy, and social progress, as well as for personal good health and creative vigor.

SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary

Central Committee Greets British CP Leader

AU141014 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jan 88 p 1

[Telegram from SED Central Committee signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain: "SED Congratulates Gordon McLennan on Reelection; Telegram to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Gordon McLennan: On your reelection as general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, I convey cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings to you on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

We wish you success, good health, and creative vigor for your responsible activity.

With communist greetings, SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary

Polish Daily Questions Premier Stoph

AU121216 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Jan 88 pp 1, 2

[Answers given by GDR Premier Willy Stoph to questions submitted by RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Stable Foundations—Dynamic Development"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Premier, what are your country's most important tasks and problems of socioeconomic development in 1988?

[Stoph] Looking back, we see our most important 1988 tasks in guaranteeing a dynamic economic development, which was and is a stable foundation of unceasing increases in our living standards. A few days ago the People's Chamber adopted the 1988 national economic plan, which poses for us ambitious goals in every sphere. This plan includes the most urgent issues of economic and social development, but some issues have to wait.

Realizing the proven principle of socialist democracy—"work, plan, and govern together with others"—we continue to channel all the working people's creative and active stance in such a way as to effectively relate the achievements of scientific-technological revolution to the virtues of socialism. Our main task is to extensively exploit key technologies, which to a great extent determine the rate of increases in the economy and production effectiveness and quality.

This is certainly a complicated task, but the GDR's socialist economy is well prepared to accomplish it. In this connection we follow the principle that every increase in production should trigger gradual improvements in our working and living conditions.

[Question] What should be done to accelerate real progress in creating a safe world without nuclear weapons and in producing the climate of confidence and openness in international relations?

[Stoph] When on 8 December General Secretary M. Gorbachev and President R. Reagan signed the accord on eliminating medium and shorter range nuclear missiles, they created a historic act, one which may well calm international relations. Convinced of this, the GDR, the USSR, and the CSSR signed an agreement on carrying out inspections in connection with the Washington accord. This agreement was signed on 11 December in Berlin at the meeting of the highest representatives of the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet-U.S. accord is not only the first accord on nuclear disarmament, but also a practical expression of the position that implies that a larger number of weapons does not denote greater security. Only sensible, political solutions, which correspond to nations' justified interests, can result in creating stability and security.

That accord amounts to launching a process which helps to strengthen nations' hopes that the threat of nuclear hell can be eliminated and that disarmament and cooperation in international relations can be promoted. At the same time, that accord makes it possible and necessary to take further significant disarmament measures such as a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons, while observing the ABM treaty, and a ban on nuclear and chemical tests. As is the case in the other regions of the world, the initiatives put forward by the GDR, the CSSR, and the PPR seek to create zones free from nuclear weapons and chemical weapons or to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe by gradually reducing the nuclear and conventional potentials of NATO and the Warsaw Pact states.

I am convinced that the results of the Soviet-U.S.missile accord will be especially felt by Europe. The agreed destruction of the two classes of Soviet and U.S. missiles will reduce the nuclear confrontation in Europe, which means that the strategic situation may be turned to good account. The realization of the accord also improves conditions for radically reducing armed forces, conventional armaments, and tactical weapons and for taking measures to prevent offensive operations and to implement regional disarmament initiatives.

However, it is obvious that because of the increased militancy of the most aggressive forces of militarism and revanchism, the aforementioned goals will not be realized without effort. That is why we need more than ever intensified efforts of all the forces of peace, common sense, and realism. Together with the USSR, Poland, and other socialist states the GDR will continue its active efforts to promote the Warsaw Pact program for disarmament and to strengthen the constructive dialogue and equal peace cooperation among nations.

[Question] What is for you most important and what should be continued in the GDR-Polish relations?

[Stoph] The most important qualities of our relations are friendship, mutual understanding, and trust. This is the work of the German and Polish communists, socialists, and all patriots who have put an end to the fatal stream of German-Polish history and have created entirely new mutual relations. Our contacts have achieved a high level on the basis of these stable foundations.

At their meeting on 16 September 1987 Comrades E. Honecker and W. Jaruzelski gave a new momentum to the continuation of our fruitful cooperation. Now we have to maintain the increasing upsurge in trade, to promote further scientific, technological, and production cooperation in line with the adopted program, and to sign other accords on production specialization and coproduction. It is especially important to exploit key technologies more effectively and to create new joint opportunities for promoting a comprehensive and intensive development of our national economies.

The further development of contacts between our state bodies and social organizations and the cooperation between scientific institutions, production enterprises, and industrial combines will make it possible to carry out more thorough exchanges of practical experience. We should keep in mind that this kind of exchanges continues to acquire increasing importance.

Our accord on friendly cooperation between our young people is an extremely important factor, one that helps to determine the future of our mutual relations. This accord has made it possible to implement a worldwide unique exchange of children and youths from our two countries. We have decided to raise this exchange to an even higher level and to enrich its provisions and forms by signing an appropriate accord between our two states.

In conclusion I would like to use your good offices and to convey on the occasion of the New Year our best wishes for good health, strength, and successes to the Polish people, the PZPR leadership, and all the people committed to socialism.

1987 Plan Fulfillment Statistics

AU131342 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In 1987 the GDR working people accomplished high achievements. According to preliminary statistical data, the produced national income rose by 4 percent compared with the previous year. Growth was again fully achieved by increasing labor productivity. Unit input of economically important raw materials and other materials was reduced by 3 percent.

Rising performances in production and efficiency went hand in hand with the further improvement of the people's standard of living. In 1987 214,186 apartments were built and modernized. Thus, housing conditions improved for 643,000 citizens. Retail trade turnover rose by 3.5 percent in 1987. Services and repairs for the population went up 6 percent. The net money income of the population increased by 4.6 percent.

In 1987 industrial goods production in industry rose by 3.7 percent. Net production was increased by 6.3 percent compared with the year before and labor productivity went up 6.6 percent. The production of consumer goods for the population rose by 4.8 percent. costs were reduced by 1 percent. In the "Return funds to the state—contribute to national income" initiative, the enterprises and combines returned material and financial funds at a value of M5.9 billion to the State Bank by means of checks.

In implementation of the economic strategy of the 11th SED Congress, the economic development is increasingly determined by the production and application of the key technologies. In 1987 14,700 industrial robots were newly installed and 19,000 CAD/CAM work stations and systems were put into service; 49,392 office, personal, and workplace computers were produced in 1987. The production of glass fiber cables increased by 241 percent, that of special technical equipment for the production of active semiconductor parts by 39 percent, and that of monolithically integrated circuits by 55 percent. Production increase in combined installations for checking, regulating, and control amounts to 61 percent.

In 1987 160 economically important production facilities for increasing the capacity of the GDR's national economy were put into service. These include facilities for the production of

—electricity in the "Wilhelm Pieck" Jaenschwalde Youth Power Plant;

—bright steel in the VEB Steel and Rolling Mill, Hennigsdorf;

—solid state circuits and silicon transistors in the VEB Semiconductor Workers, Frankfurt (Oder);

—numerical controls in the VEB "Karl Marx" Numerics, Karl-Marx-Stadt;

—worsted in the VEB "Ernst Thaelmann" Cotton Spinning Mill, Leinefelde.

In the construction sector building output rose by 2.3 percent compared with 1986. Net production increased by 4.6 percent and labor productivity by 5.7 percent. In-house production of rationalization equipment went up 16.5 percent. Prime costs per M100 of building output were reduced by 1 percent. Measures were taken to increase the capacity of the GDR's industrial construction sector.

In agriculture, crop production reached the highest yield with 51 decitonnes of grain equivalent units per hectare in 1987. The state procurement plan of animal products

was overfulfilled. Procurement of slaughter animals amounted to 2,675,000 tonnes and rose by 1.2 percent; that of eggs reached 4,963 million units, which represents an increase of 1.1 percent; 7,678,000 tonnes of milk were procured. Forestry supplied 10.6 million cubic meters of rough timber. Measures for forest cultivation were carried out on 323,000 hectares.

In the transportation sector, a total of 938 million tonnes of goods were transported. The working people accomplished great achievements under difficult conditions in order to fulfill the transportation demands of the national economy. Unit input of the national economy in transportation was reduced by 3 percent. Measures to increase the capacity of the railroads were introduced; for this purpose, 329 km of electrified railroad track were put into service.

In 1987, the posts and telecommunications sector raised its services to the national economy and the people in telephone and teletype communications by 4.4 percent.

In foreign trade the GDR reached an export surplus of more than 3 billion valuta marks in 1987.

In the individual sectors of industry the followinggrowth in net production and labor productivity and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved in 1987 compared with 1986:

	Net production	Labor Productivity	Reduction in prime costs
		— in percent —	
Coal and energy	2.1	1.5	0.7
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	10.0	10.3	increase 2.1
Chemical industry	2.5	3.3	0.0
Electrical Engineering, electronics	16.0	16.7	3.7
Heavy machinery and installation construction	3.7	4.2	0.5
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	10.4	11.1	1.9
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	5.9	6.5	0.1
Light industry	4.0	3.8	increase 0.1
Glass and ceramics industry	6.4	6.8	0.5
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	5.4	5.9	0.5
Geology	12.3	11.2	2.0

Within bezirk-administered industry the following growth of net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	Net production	Manufactured goods for the population	Reduction in prime costs
		— in percent —	
Capital city of Berlin	10.1	4.7	1.0
Cottbus	8.5	2.3	1.3
Dresden	6.6	6.1	1.2
Erfurt	8.0	7.0	1.2
Frankfurt	4.5	3.3	0.1
Gera	9.4	5.2	increase 1.0
Halle	8.5	1.9	1.2
Karl-Marx-Stadt	4.4	3.6	0.3
Leipzig	2.7	3.9	increase 0.2
Magdeburg	10.4	5.2	1.5
Neubrandenburg	6.9	1.5	0.7
Potsdam	8.8	4.1	1.6
Rostock	2.9	3.5	0.4
Schwerin	7.5	4.8	1.6
Suhl	6.9	3.9	2.2

KISZ Executive Condemns 'Israeli Aggression'
AU141016 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jan 88 p 6

[MTI report: "KISZ Condemns Israeli Aggression"]

[Text] On its session on 7 January, the Executive Committee of the KISZ Central Committee condemned the latest occurrences of Israeli aggression in the occupied Palestinian territories. It noted that the number of victims, among them many young people in their teens, had increased as a result of the inhuman activities of the Israeli authorities. The Executive Committee decisively condemned the lasting Israeli occupation, the cruel attitude of the occupying forces, and the law-defying acts of deportation. The Executive Committee expressed its solidarity with the Palestinian population and young people who are struggling against the occupation and assured them of its continued support for the Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Leaders Congratulate Cambodia on National Day
AU131527 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar, Presidential Council President Karoly Nemeth, and Premier Karoly Grosz sent a telegram of congratulations to Heng Samrin, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and to Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Szuros Interviewed on World, Domestic Affairs
AU131245 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Dec 87 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros by Deputy Chief-Editor Jozsef Szaszi:"Hungary and the World at the End of 1987 and the Beginning of 1988"—date and place not given]

[Text] What can we expect in world affairs in 1988, including Soviet-U.S. relations? Is it a coincidence that the internal changes underway in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have many similarities? What does the Europe-oriented aspect of Hungarian foreign policy mean? How are Hungary's relations with its neighboring countries developing? How does the Hungarian diplomacy classify its foreign policy tasks on the eve of 1988? These and other questions are dealt with in the interview given by Matyas Szuros to Jozsef Szaszi.

[Szaszi] In a radio program dealing with foreign policy issues broadcast in February 1987, you said that there were three issues on which the leaders of the United States and Western Europe had not yet decided. One: the chance they give to the implementation of Gorbachev's reforms. Two: whether to help or hinder the implementation of this reform process. Three: whether to allow the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to be integrated in the community of nations or to try to increase the gap between the two world orders. Did the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in December change anything in your aforementioned evaluation? How do you evaluate today the Western attitude?

[Szuros] I continue to regard the aforementioned evaluation as correct. Since then, however, the position of our Western partners has changed, and so has our position, that of the socialist countries. International circumstances have definitely become more favorable, including the Western attitude, but the reality is still very complex and complicated. On the aforementioned three issues, the responsible U.S. and western European political and government circles have not formulated a firm enough and final position to this very day. All this continues to represent a serious dilemma for us, and this dilemma is largely understandable since strategic problems are at issue here. We cannot count on their reaching a firm decision overnight, nor can we expect them to give an identical evaluation of the situation and of the Soviet Union. I consider it important, however, that primarily the Western European attitude, but lately also the U.S. attitude toward all these three issues have changed favorably.

[Szaszi] How is this attitude evident?

[Szuros] Fewer and fewer people regard the policy of restructuring and openness in the Soviet Union as propaganda or temporary tactics, and the reform efforts are being taken more seriously. This is the fundamental reason behind the favorable progress and not the summit, which was itself primarily the result of the changes following the new Soviet initiatives. This is true in spite of the fact that, concerning the future of restructuring underway in the Soviet Union, Western opinions continue to be divided. Many people regard this restructuring with reservation and doubt. They count on an increasingly strengthening conservative opposition and the possibility that the restructuring will be abandoned.

We obtain an even more complex picture if we examine whether the West preferred the Soviet reforms to succeed under Gorbachev or preferred rather to hinder the successful implementation of these reforms. The governments of various countries, and even considerable political forces within individual countries, do not have a uniform position in this issue. It can be said of the leading Western European circles as a whole that they seem increasingly to recognize that the Soviet Union, which is undergoing a process of modernization and democratization and which promotes the principles of adequate security, promises to be a predictable and reliable partner. Their opinions have had a favorable influence on the U.S. approach.

The summit held in the United States and the events preceeding it allow us to draw the conclusion that the decisively "traditional" conservative wing has changed its position on certain foreign policy issues. This wing today represents a more moderate and realistic position than

previously. The fact that the U.S. public mood has also shifted in this direction is an important development. It seems, for the time being, that, under certain conditions and on the basis of a strict balance of interests, the U.S. Administration and the Congress are ready, if not for active support, at least for a certain amount of cooperation.

The Western position is inseparable from all these, its position concerning the issue of whether to help the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to integrate themselves more in the community of nations or to strive to deepen the gap. There has been no breakthrough here either. It does not seem that they definitely encouraged integration, although readiness for cooperation has slightly increased in the economic sphere, particularly on the west European side. This trend is more restrained in the United States. At the same time, however, the December summit proved that the political will was also changing there. Recognition of the need for comprehensive coexistence and cooperation is spreading. Spectacular changes cannot be expected here since the Western economic discriminatory measures, the embargo and the Cocom list, continue to be in force. This practice serves more to block economic and technological cooperation and even encourages isolation, rather than mutual cooperation. We hope that this will change but we are also aware of the fact that much depends on us, the socialist countries. We must be more open and more ready for cooperation.

[Szaszi] New Soviet positions were voiced at the international conference in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the GOSR: the world development cannot be viewed only from the viewpoint of the struggle between the two opposing world orders, and the progressive changes under way in the world cannot be regarded as exclusively socialist achievements. To what extent do these declarations represent a change of style and to what extent are they signs of substantial change?

[Szuros] A comprehensive reorganization has been under way in recent years both in the Soviet foreign policy concept and style, a reorganization connected with the domestic social and political development in the Soviet Union. Without a new policy, and merely by changing the methods, only a "symptomatic treatment" could be achieved. It is also true that a new guideline can be successfully carried out only by richer and more colorful means, by a flexibility and readiness for compromise that characterize present Soviet diplomacy.

The 27th CPSU Congress reflected a new way of thinking and formulated a new world outlook. The road to the comprehensive disarmament program and the unprecedented international meeting held on the occasion of the anniversary of the GOSR led to recognitions of great importance. The most important recognition was that the countries of the world depend on each other so much that peaceful coexistence and cooperation can be the only rational way of existence. The mutually dependent world that forms a uniform whole in spite of the contradictions is an irrevocable reality. Stressing the fact that the Soviet Union, and even the socialist countries together, are unable by themselves to solve the problems of the world is a sign of an objective evaluation of reconstruction and of realistic processes. With its example and real achievements, socialism can, naturally, influence world processes, but the danger of the arms race and the global problems demand cooperation and collaboration between peoples and countries. Capitalist countries possessing tremendous economic and scientific-technological power as well as considerable political reserves are indispensable partners in this cooperation. In today's increasingly complex world, in addition to countries, the peoples and public movements themselves are also playing an important role. The world was evaluated the Soviet foreign policy measures carried out in the spirit of these efforts, primarily the results of the latest Soviet-U.S. summit, as the first great success of the new foreign policy.

[Szaszi] The changes under way in the Soviet Union and in several socialist countries have many similar characteristics. To what extent can the efforts at renewal improve the potential for bilateral cooperation and CEMA modernization? [Szuros] The internal changes under way in the Soviet Union and several other socialist countries indeed have many similar features, and this, of course, is not accidental. The recognition of the fact that we must work out an efficient system of bilateral and multilateral cooperation is also an essential part of the new concept and of the renewal efforts. The desire to modernize cooperation can be said to be quite general today within the CEMA member states. At the same time, however, because of the different economic structures, the different economic management concepts and practical solutions, and primarily because of an inadequate coordination of interests, we have so far failed to come to an agreement concerning the essence, content, and organizational-institutional issues of our economic relations. Our similar problems: the decreasing rate of our economic development, lack of capital, our relative technological backwardness, our indebtedness, the lack of a "driving force", and the daily tasks that hinder long-term solutions, all these things make our progress considerably more difficult. As a whole, there is still much debate on how things should be done. The meeting of the CEMA countries' premiers in 1987 clearly reflected the current situation. Together with Poland, Hungary strongly encouraged the reorganization of CEMA and a radical reform of the financial and accounting systems. The Soviet Union also agreed with this in principle, but its internal economic system does not yet enable it to take such practical steps. All these things make it clear that we can count only on slow progress in renewing our cooperation. No qualitative change can, unfortunately, be expected in the short term.

[Szaszi] Will the reform under way in the Soviet Union not bring a change in this respect too?

[Szuros] It can be easily concluded that reforming the multilateral cooperation greatly depends on the restructuring process under way in the Soviet Union. As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his speech delivered at the 70th anniversary of the GOSR, the second phase in

restructuring is starting now: the implementation of the concepts and their practical test. The coming few years will be a transitional period in the Soviet people's economy, and genuine reforms will start here from 1990. Thus, real chances of reorganizing CEMA will emerge only following the development and spreading of the new economic management system in the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, this is a weak point of socialism, because socialism can have a real chance in its partnership competition and cooperation with the capitalist world—and, in the long run, in historically overcoming the capitalist world—only if this social formation built within national frameworks becomes an internationally effective system. This is why the Hungarian reform policy is also very important because for a long time it has been searching for possible ways of efficient international coordination of interests and collaboration and for a way leading to the creation of a socialist "common market."

[Szaszi] Hungary's foreign policy is naturally Europe-oriented. To what extent does the recent improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations influence the role played by Europe and its possibilities of action?

[Szuros] Let me confirm the first part of your question with one of the basic principles of our foreign policy: Europe is our lager home. Therefore, taking our endowments and possibilities into consideration, it is understandable that our foreign policy is necessarily European-oriented. How Europe's role will develop in the, hopefully, steadily improving East-West relations, including Soviet-U.S. relations, is a complex question that gives food for thought. As I see it, Europe's international role is again increasing and becoming increasingly valuable. The endeavors of the changing Soviet foreign policy in building contacts in Europe also reflect this trend. Of course, much depends on the European countries themselves.

I consider that an important task currently facing the European countries is to counterbalance the divisive effects of the two military alliances and economic integration blocs. The further elimination of preconceptions and tensions deriving from this division is also an important task. By representing common interests and values, Europe stretching from the Urals to the Atlantic, can and must be a factor that shapes its own destiny and a firm element of peace. In this area, each country, including Hungary, indeed has a lot to do.

For this the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and a more relaxed international atmosphere widen the scope of the European countries. This, of course, represents only an opportunity, and making use of this opportunity requires deliberate action from the European countries. The increasing cooperation between the world powers particularly the improves chances of developing Europe-wide cooperation, and the most important thing now is that this cooperation can encourage the process of security and cooperation in Europe.

In my opinion, conditions are favorable on the whole. At the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna, the political desire to achieve an agreement is increasingly being asserted, although the drafting activity is progressing slowly. The fact that we succeeded in advancing in issues concerning security is a promising development. It seems that an agreement will be reached on continuing to work out the Stockholm measures on confidence-building and strengthening security. A fundamental issue from the viewpoint of Europe's future is for the reduction in conventional forces and arms to be connected to the Helsinki process. We hope that an agreement can be reached on the framework and final mandate of the negotiations dealing with these issues. Another important achievement is that, compared to previous forums, greater stress was laid on issues of economic, scientific, and environmental cooperation. The outlines of an agreement are emerging in this area too. One can notice that the sides are coming slightly closer together also in humanitarian issues, but differences are greatest in this area.

[Szaszi] What does Hungary do to achieve progress?

[Szuros] Hungarian foreign policy is interested in achieving progress in all areas. From the beginning, our delegation has been carrying out constructive activity in all issues, activity that earned general appreciation. The Hungarian delegation tries to contribute successfully to advancing the talks aimed at reducing conventional armed forces and exploiting the various areas of Europe-wide cooperation. Due to our special situation, it is very important for us that adequate positions emerge in the sphere of humanitarian issues on providing guarantees for the rights of the individual and the collective minority. On several occasions the Hungarian delegation has expressed our firm and principled position concerning this issue. Together with Yugoslavia and Canada, Hungary submitted two proposals aimed at improving the situation of minorities.

[Szaszi] Also within Europe, for us our relations with our neighbors are naturally the most important. These relations, however, are not always free of differences of opinion with all countries. It takes two to make a bargain. Do we, for our part, do our utmost to avoid possible tensions and alleviate those that exist?

[Szuros] I can say with satisfaction that our relations with neighboring countries cover all areas of life in accordance with our mutual interests and as a result of our joint efforts, and—with the exception of Romania—these relations are becoming broader and richer each year. The aforementioned exception does not mean that we have no problems with other countries. This is only natural. The important thing is whether we are able to deal with these problems. Fortunately, our relations with the majority of countries have now evolved to a level in which we can ease or even solve the emerging problems with joint efforts and for the benefit of the affected parties. In this area we made further efforts at the high-level conferences that were held in 1987.

As an example, I will mention that at the talks held by Janos Kadar and Karoly Grosz in the Soviet Union the main subject of discussion was primarily to reveal sources of mutually advantageous economic cooperation. During the visit of the Yugoslav party chairman to Hungary we honestly discussed the slow down in our economic cooperation. We confirmed that we would jointly seek a solution. During Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitsky's visit to Hungary we discussed the problems emerging in our exchange of goods and in tourism. At the talks held with CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal, we reviewed the general situation of bilateral relations, the joint investments, and our cooperation in the minorities issue in an open atmosphere, and we decided on joint solutions. At the meeting of Central Committee secretaries in Budapest in June 1987 we presented the Romanian side with the issues that worry us: the drop in tourism, the attitude of the Romanian border guards, the limitations imposed on cultural relations, and the developments in the fate of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. Unfortunately, in spite of our desire to come to agreement and our readiness for compromise, we are unable to advance.

Concern for the Hungarians living beyond our borders is among the major tasks facing Hungarian foreign policy. This factor is a particular element in our relations with our neighbors. It is our conviction that the double loyalty that the national minorities have successfully contributes to a better understanding between peoples and to the strengthening of confidence. Experience shows that curbing the collective political and cultural rights of national minorities, limiting in any way the contacts with the mother nation, and withholding contacts lead to a lack of confidence in interstate relations, and therefore all these things hinder the normal development of international life.

I think that our principled position in the close relations we have developed with the majority of our neighbors is gradually becoming justified. The increasingly multilateral cooperation between minorities also increasingly contributes to strengthening the mutual understanding between our peoples.

[Szaszi] In your recently published book "Our Country and Europe", you said that the small and medium-sized countries "are neither determining nor dispensable factors in international politics." How does Hungary, this small country in central Europe, categorize its foreign policy tasks on the eve of 1988?

[Szuros] I continue to consider the most important task to be the creation of the most favorable possible international economic and political conditions for our domestic activity. This, of course, has always been the case. In our current situation, however, this task is particularly important. Our development and our innermost resources bind us to strengthen the international position of socialism and increase its appeal. Socialist foreign economic relations are the most important—though not exclusive—element of the background of our economic tasks. We can say today, in 1988, that our 20-year-old domestic reform efforts have become more coordinated than ever with the reform processes under way in the Soviet Union, China, Poland, and in some other socialist countries.

It is obvious, but I still consider it important to mention that Hungary continues to take an active part in the coordinated socialist foreign policy and in the Warsaw Pact initiatives. We see opportunities to take an independent stand in the area of arms limitation and disarmament, and are also thinking of initiatives that transcend the borders of different social orders.

With the further development of the process of security and cooperation in Europe, new possibilities emerge for the small and medium-sized countries. Not only narrow economic interests, but also Europe-wide political considerations demand that these new possibilities be used. The signing of an agreement between CEMA and the EEC, for which we see possibilities in 1988 also from a Hungarian point of view, promises to be an important stage in East-West economic cooperation.

It has been 40 years since the United Nations adopted the universal declaration of human rights. As part of these rights, we attribute increasing importance to providing guarantees for the individual and collective rights of the national minorities. This anniversary provides a new impetus to treat this issue with the attention that befits our principled policy, an issue that is a long-term element of the Hungarian foreign policy, and which will continue to be an important part of our activity in 1988.

In conclusion, I would like to confirm that our fundamental goals and efforts are unchanged: In the socialist community and in our alliance system we would like to play a role that encourages advancement in 1988 in order to attain the common social, economic, and political goals; in the international arena, we wish to continue to fulfill a stabilizing role to the benefit of peace and security, and cooperation.

[Szaszi] Thank you for the interview.

Periodical on Defense Expenditures

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG No. 1 in Hungarian 1 Jan 88 p 24

[Article by Istvan Kozma Toth: "The People's Army—Defense Expenditures—Much Or Little?—International Comparison"]

[Text] In the middle of December, one of the largest West European news agencies—REUTER—reported in a separate item that Major General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, had reported at a session of the National Defense Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly that in 1988 some 34.9 billion forints of the budget of the people's economy will be spent on the People's Army.

This report was considered sensational mainly because there is no precedent for submitting to a responsible parliamentary committee and, at the same time, to the public opinion of the whole country a report on the extent of military expenditures in a given year and the costs of maintaining and developing the Hungarian People's Army. Whether interpreted positively or negatively, this used to be considered a secret previously.

Almost every speaker at the session, a session that can be termed pioneering, discussed the issue of openness and of supplying more detailed information than before and referred to the fact that people are increasingly interested—and after the introduction of value-added tax and personal income tax they will be even more interested—in knowing what the country's money is spent on. Speaking about openness in his answer at the National Assembly session, the minister of defense emphasized that anybody who is willing to do so can now be convinced that, except for real military secrets, it is possible to discuss really everything that concerns the life of the People's Army.

In a Reasonable Manner [subhead]

The session of the National Defense Committee took place in the course of preparing the winter session of the National Assembly. The minister of defense promised—in accordance with what is demanded by the present interests of the country—a more reasonable and efficient economic management than ever before. In his introductory remarks, he referred to the fact that there is a need for a more comprehensive collection and dispersion of information than before, if for no other reason than the fact that—as a result of the previous, not always justified secrecy—quite a lot of mistaken beliefs concerning expenditures on Hungary's defense prevail in the public opinion. During the preparation of its plans, the Ministry of Defense paid very close attention to the present economic situation of the country and it intends to spend money only on the most necessary, really essential goals that are vitally important for the defense of the country. Nobody can doubt that we will in any case have to reckon with the technological preparedness of the forces that confront us and securing the firm and reliable defense of our homeland is an vital duty even in the present difficult economic situation. It is also very important that the army should use the amount it needs in a way that will make everybody feel really safe, and that—taking the possibilities into consideration—will improve the living and working conditions of the professional and conscript soldiers.

The Army high command will do everything possible to rationalize its economic management and to ensure that the efficient use of the money at its disposal will be the decisive factor in all areas. Nor is it a secret that for the most part the planned amount has to be spent on maintaining and operating the organization and only a negligible part will remain for development. Within reasonable limits, the number of military exercises will be reduced and substantially fewer reserve soldiers than previously will be called up for service in 1988; this is also proof of the attention paid to the interests of the people's economy.

The Media and Openness [subhead]

While speaking in detail about the ways the money will be used, the minister said that the civilian population would also benefit from the advantages that appear to serve only the interests of national defense. As an example he said that the reconstruction of the Central Military Hospital is being continued, a hospital where a large number of sick civilians are also treated in increasingly modern conditions.

Improving the living conditions of professional soldiers and making the military profession more attractive continue to be important tasks; and another aspect of this is also the fact that, as a continuation of the housing project of the defense forces, professional soldiers who are serving in the army will be able to assume ownership of presumably more than 1,000 apartments in 1988.

Following the session of the National Defense Committee, Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who submitted the 1988 budget said at the winter session of the National Assembly: "We allocated 56.4 billion forints for the maintenance and operational costs of the defense and other armed forces in 1988. The nominal increase of this amount is decisively the consequence of the price and tax reform, but in real terms this means an increase of only 1 percent. In accordance with the overall intentions to save, development in this area too is smaller than the development envisaged in the preliminary plans. The overall investment for the whole armed forces amounts to a little more than 6 billion forints, 63 percent of which is allocated for housing health, instructional, and educational goals."

The Hungarian newspaper reader has had an opportunity to get used to being annually informed of the defense expenditures of the United States and learn in detail how much the largest NATO ally or the other Western countries spend on armaments. However, the defense expenditures of Hungary and the rest of the socialist countries were mostly regarded as confidential information.

It was not the speeches at the above mentioned National Defense Committee session that indicated the beginnings of openness, publicity, and—speaking of the army—of supplying more honest information than ever before. It is enough to mention the Bazalt 87 strategic exercise that was held in fall 1987 in Dunantul. In the course of the exercise, Brigadier-General Dr Egon Szabo, spokesman of the Ministry of Defense, did not reveal confidential and "secret" information that must not be written down; rather, he stressed that the fact that the Army leadership, with the concurrence of the party and the state organs, had notified the 34 countries that were interested in the Helsinki process, the 32 European countries, the United States, and Canada, about the holding of Bazalt 87, this fact was a confidence-building

gesture. Although in the spirit of the resolution adopted at the Stockholm conference aimed at strengthening military confidence and security, a country is required to report only military exercises that mobilize more than 13,000 troops, Hungary made a report also on the occasion of an exercise that mobilized 8,000 troops. The 34 countries were exactly informed about the location of the exercise and that 120 tanks, 49 artillery pieces with calibers above 100 millimeters, 32 helicopters, and 24 airplanes participated in the military activities.

Therefore, the publication of the exact amount of the military budget for 1988 is not an opening move but part of a conscious and deliberate process that originates from publicity and honesty that are being treated more seriously than ever before.

Let us look now at some comparative data; being familiar with them, even a person with the worst possible intentions will not be able to claim that Hungary is arming itself excessively. The amount of 34.9 billion forints allocated for the army in 1988 will amount to less than 4 percent of the annual national income. In Hungary, the per capita defense expenditure is only 3,500 forints (approximately $70). In 1985, the average per capita defense expenditure in the NATO countries was $266; $1040 in the United States, $452 in the UK, $390 in France, $379 in the FRG; and in smaller countries like Hungary, for example, $289 in Belgium, $269 in Denmark, $305 in Holland, and $258 even in Greece.

The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers said at the December session of the National Assembly that in 1988, the real increase in defense expenditures in Hungary is barely 1 percent. In comparison, the per capita military expenditure in the abovementioned countries (in U.S dollars), developed as follows in 1986: $416 in Belgium, $318 in Denmark, $405 in Holland, $265 in Greece; and in the larger European countries that play a decisive role in NATO, $513 in the UK, $528 in France, and $450 in the FRG.

Although it is on as different order of magnitude, the 1988 budget of the Pentagon is worth mentioning not only because of its size but also because of the principles related to it. On 18 November, the U.S Congress adopted the 1988 budget of the U.S Department of Defense by a vote of 264 for and 158 against, a budget that provides for maximum expenditure of $296 billion. (President Reagan had requested $312 billion.)

Producer and Consumer [subhead]

By paying close attention to the capacity of the people's economy to endure burdens, however, the 1988 military budget of Hungary aims at ensuring that in 1988 the Hungarian People's Army will also be able to fulfill its domestic and international commitments. This will be achieved by all of its members paying particular attention to saving and to using the means at their disposal effectively. Saving is a principle that has for many years been in effect and asserted efficiently in the Army because in recent years, for example, the troops accomplished their tasks without increasing fuel consumption in the meantime. In 1987, as a result of reasonable saving measures, the number of reserve soldiers called up for shorter or longer service periods decreased by 9 percent; and the use of civilian technical means—vehicles and machinery—decreased by 34 percent compared with the previous level. The modernization of the ground forces of the People's Army which was concluded in the recent past also aimed at establishing a more rational personnel management and a more effective implementation of tasks. It was possible to reduce the number of the leading organs of the People's Army by almost 30 percent as a result of the more modern organizational and management forms.

According to its basic purpose, the Army is certainly not a producer enterprise but a very large consumer. However, the fact that the production of the construction and technical troops that were established in April 1964 reached an overall production value of 25 billion forints during the period of the last, Sixth 5-Year Plan is also one that characterizes the activities of the army. Concerning the second characteristic (large consumer), when the minister of defense was asked by one of the deputies on what the Army spends the country's money, he replied, supplying arguments and facts to support his answer: "The Army spends only on what is most necessary...."

Janos Berecz for Nationwide Consensus

AU131521 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee: "For Renewal of Nationwide Consensus"]

[Text] It is an old custom that when we say farewell to the old year, we wish our friends and acquaintances a peaceful new year. The basis for the good wishes is confidence and good intentions. That is, confidence that relies on being acquainted with the facts and reality; and the intention to improve, this, the intention to face the tasks and changing requirements. In recent years confidence has decreased and cracks have appeared in the public consensus, although there are no fewer good intentions at present, either. Let us say despite this that, whether we examine our domestic or our international situation, a basis for confidence exists at the turn of 1987-1988.

Hungary in the World [subhead]

All of us have confidently followed the Soviet-U.S. negotiations that eventually brought favorable results for the whole world, and thus also for Hungary.

For decades relations between the nations of the world and the development of international relations have basically been characterized by the conflict between socialism and capitalism, capital and work, and the political and military strategic confrontation between exploitation and those who

are exploited. At the same time, and as a result of the endeavors of the forces of socialism, the effects of a recognition and of a strategy are becoming increasingly stronger: recognition of the universal interest in the survival of mankind; and, along with this, a strategy which, while taking into account the overall dictates of necessity, aims primarily at the preservation of world peace.

The designation of this goal starts from the premise that it is in the interest of the whole of humanity to stop the armament process and avert the danger of war that is inherent in the accumulated weapons and the military forces that have been put on the alert; and it also starts from the premise that this issue can be settled only on the basis of mutual trust and security. Designating this goal takes into account the fact that developing a new global economic order is in the interest of the whole of mankind, because the economic backwardness of certain areas in the world is a constant source of conflicts, and the fact that mankind can protect the natural environment only by collectively protecting it from types of damage that do not acknowledge international borders.

This concept makes it clear that there is a need for international cooperation, compromises, and consideration for the interests of other parties. All these will contribute to the mutual openness and understanding of different societies.

For a long time we have been promoting international cooperation, and in this we can rely on the strong consensus prevailing in our society.

International relations, however, have a contradictory effect on our domestic situation. Favorable and unfavorable influences reach our society equally. Even if we observe them in concert, we should know that the most important basis of our international role and evaluation is our domestic stability. The value of a society that pulls in different directions always decreases. However, even a small nation that wants to act, that thinks in terms of alternatives, and that collectively searches for answers can display initiative in world affairs and represent its own interests more confidently.

Shifting to a New Era Through Debates [subhead]

The world around us and the position of socialism in the world have changed in the last 2-3 decades. In this period Hungary's position has changed, even if we compare it to the situation prevailing only 5 years ago. We have lived through a series of epochal changes during the period of socialist construction so far. Our results in reshaping society have been primarily achieved thanks to the workers masses and the people that have many ties to socialism, that respect the socialist values which have been established in the past decades, and that seek to solve our problems by renewing and further developing socialism.

We have reached the beginning of a new era in the socialist development of Hungary. The change is objectively necessary, but the form it will take is, of course, developing with difficulty. It is understandable that lively debates are under way on the possibilities related to this change. It is also understandable that these debates occasionally become quite heated. However, there is a need for these debates and they must be accepted. In particular, there is a need for debates within the party, debates which are not personal and which promote the cause and encourage the preparation of alternatives in the process of preparing decisions. Like Lenin, we believe that it is impossible to make a choice without fighting. And neither successful progress nor solid unity can be achieved without making a choice; that is, debate means struggle. We are making progress through such struggle, and the foundations of a consensus that renews itself can be developed—on the basis of socialism and in the interest of the nation—through such debates.

There are people who participate in the debate, but who participate much less or not at all in the action. We also find that people whose opinions remain minority opinions in a debate will, instead of acting, often try to prove in practice what they themselves think is true. Such phenomena hinder progress and change. However, in addition to the selection between alternatives, a selection which is based on consensus, there is a need for a new unity that has crystallized through debates, a unity that is also required for action that would best implement the decision that has been made.

In the past, our history and the increasing international respect for Hungary increased our national self-respect. However, the difficulties of recent years have somewhat decreased this. We have become less confident, and Hungary has become a "country where the mood is bad." This hinders our chances of developing. Our bad mood has many causes and in itself it can cause us to act in different ways. There are many people, even among those who accept public roles, that belittle everything because they count precisely on the anxiety and uncertainty that undoubtedly exist in Hungarian public opinion. People who do this should know that when they negate everything and spread an atmosphere of crisis they are discrediting and disregarding over 4 decades of the people's efforts and work.

When conditions are difficult, taking reality into consideration is no doubt a particularly important requirement. At present, however, people who judge, condemn, use harsh words, and do not admit anything are considered to be open and realistic. Eternal doubt is indeed our duty, and doubt is necessary for exploring the alternatives of the development process and for developing a program of action. Denial in itself, however, has a crippling effect.

In spite of the strong foundations that exist, it is indisputable that not everything is in order. Many Hungarian families have difficulties making ends meet; and in certain areas the operational disturbances in society are increasing. We also have many economic difficulties, and the list can be continued. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that we have quite

considerable financial and intellectual resources on which we can build our future. We should, however, acknowledge and trust in their existence. No human community can be creative without trust.

In its present situation, the Hungarian people need creative work of large scale and scope in order to secure the future and build a socialist Hungary. So far we have set many examples in developing and implementing socialist solutions, but we have also made many mistakes. We wholly accept them in order to make use of the opportunities for development and we also draw conclusions from them. This lends us the necessary self-confidence for the work we are doing for development.

Our people's economy is producing, exporting, and supplying the country with basic goods, and in 1987 it also demonstrated its capacity to develop, because in 1987 we performed better than in 1985 and 1986. There are also contradictions, centers of tension, and burdens in our people's economy. However, it did not go bankrupt or come to a stop, and it is functioning.

Marxists do not and cannot have an entirely realistic knowledge of the road leading to socialism. However, they know in which direction this road leads and the forces that move society forward along this road. This concrete road and the practical implementation are shown by the experiences of the millions of people who have worked toward this end.

At present the main question concerning the nation and the Communists is: What is the next step? What is now needed?

Reform and Development [subhead]

The cause of socialism, the national resurgence, and the reform have become inseparably united. Socialism should always be able to surpass its own recent state; continuity and renewal organically go together in its development. Reform is the means by which socialism renews itself. However, only reforms that are also accepted by society and that have matured in political processes that rely on a realistic evaluation of the situation can bring results. Reform must become a series of actions.

Both the standpoint of the MSZMP Central Committee concerning economic and social development and the government's work program are permeated by recognition that we can advance from our present situation only by implementing a comprehensive and consistent reform policy which—within the framework of the unity [egyseg] of permanence and change, and in accordance with the present situation—stresses change, a policy in which individual reform measures are coordinated with each other and are closely adapted to the development characteristic that are specific to the individual spheres of public life. At present we should in no way delay the necessary reforms by concentrating on stability.

The MSZMP deliberately calls its program the program of social and economic development. This is a long-term program. Moreover, the government has deliberately decided that its work program is to aim mainly at the first period, which entails stabilization, but it can already contain elements of development. Without implementing the tasks of stabilization, real and comprehensive development is not possible. A comprehensive debate preceeded the development of this work program and securing its adoption was a test of our government's political strength. Relying on this work program, the government is continuing its activities. As the first step, it reorganized its own structure.

Looking for the most efficient development possibilities, we should pay attention to the shifts in our society and to its long-term goals. Naturally, we cannot develop a program that will be liked by all, that will leave all the people unaffected, and harm nobody's interests. However, we are convinced that in the coming years, while a large part of the population is forced to make sacrifices, it will be possible to accomplish a breakthrough by implementing technological development and a rational development policy that will contribute to reorganizing the macro- and microstructures of the economy to make them adjust to market demands.

These tasks result from real processes and respond to the requirements of development. Although the implementation of these tasks requires strenuous work and is accompanied by an increase in the burdens on the population, it is still a positive program, because it is based on reality and responds to the requirements of the present period. Therefore, it is possible to rally to it through action. In the course of implementing this program the burdens will decrease and the advantages will become more evident, in proportion to the increase in the desired economic results. This program is naturally not perfect, and it needs changes and additions. But the main issue at present is the attitude toward the position taken by the MSZMP Central Committee on 2 July 1987 and toward the government work program of September 1987. The most prominent yardstick is action, that is, who does what in order to implement the program. Every responsible socialist force is needed for the implementation of the program.

If our thoughts and deeds are clear, if we increase democracy in society, the opportunities to participate and intervene, and the publicity that relies on and strengthens mutual trust, and if we formulate and accomplish the tasks together, the general mood in our society will provide the adequate basis required to face the tasks of development successfully.

Publicity and Openness [subhead]

Preserving the people's power remains the key issue in Hungarian politics. In the guiding of society this is guaranteed in the Hungarian practice that has developed over the years by the assertion of the MSZMP's leading

role and by the active participation of the masses. Depending primarily on the ways in which it is exercised and on its methods, power in Hungary at present is truly the power of the people; and it focuses on the nation and serves the working man.

Socialist power can be exercised only in a smoothly functioning system of institutions that develops in many directions. A system of political institutions is effective when citizens are able to find adequate scope within it.

Publicity is an essential element of and framework for democratic political practice. Activities to widen publicity and develop it are gaining increasing importance in our political and intellectual life. An important experience of ours is that citizens will accept our social order as legitimate and just if they are able to express their opinions, ideas, and interests publicly, if they are able to participate in debating and solving public affairs and in making decisions on these matters, and if there is a way for them to identify with clearly defined social policy goals that has been formulated on the basis of a firm system of values, and to supervise the implementation these goals.

Publicity should characterize all the important issues of public life and all public organizations, institutions, and movements. At the same time these bodies should act as forums for an exchange of opinions and thus secure an organized and systematic hook-up with public affairs. Currently we see an increasing number of signs that prove that this need is acknowledged, and the role of state and public organizations that are making and want to continue making increasing use of this independence is constantly developing in public life.

Publicity in socialism naturally contains the opportunity to criticize political, institutional and government activity. The condition for this is the mutual confidence between the leadership and the millions of workers. This is the basic condition for open activity in public affairs and joint creative cooperation. The diverse opinions that exist in society can emerge only on this basis. Opinions that result from different approaches can enrich our knowledge; and if these opinions are permeated by an intention to improve, they can contribute to formulating tasks of public interest more accurately.

Our society is interested in having the kind of publicity that strengthens the people's responsibility toward each other and society, and that promotes the improvement of socialism.

Publicity and openness are terms that cannot be separated from each other. Only publicity can create confidence, which is one of the most important conditions for and requirements of a nationwide consensus.

Society usually exercises its power within organized frameworks, and it is implemented through public activity, interlaced by individual responsibility. The system of institutions, the methods, and the style of exercising this power are developing. At present we have reached the stage where we can say that the democratic exercise of power is the basis for the existence of socialism. This should encourage us to constantly develop our system of political institutions and make politics public [tarsadalmiasitas] to the widest possible extent.

Socialism Means Democracy [subhead]

The key issue in reforming the system of political institutions is the manner in which the party's leading role is asserted. The assertion of the leading role of the party has to be considerably modified in two respects. One, the party should make use of as few executive means as possible; it should increase its influence by employing political and ideological means and by means of the social movement. Two, every communist activist should exercise his own political and ideological influence in his own field by developing his position and representing it, rather than by responding reflexively to authority. We need a mobile and flexible party in which every one of its organizations is responsible for itself.

An essential point in developing our system of political institutions is that we should further increase the independence of the government—and the measures adopted by the winter session of the National Assembly contribute to this—so that the government becomes more capable of functioning well and so that the ministries will represent the government's position in their own respective fields, instead of them being represented by the government.

Another important point concerning the functioning of our system of political institutions is to enliven the people's representation: The relations between the government and the National Assembly, the legislative activity of the National Assembly, supervision of the execution of the laws, and the activities of the institutions of the local councils are all part of this issue. There is a need for clearly defined spheres of influence. In order for it to be able to function normally and healthily, society needs organization, but without reaching the point of being overorganized.

There can be no Marxist-Leninist party without deliberate ideological activity. As a result of the shift to a new era, the reassessment of our values, and the emergence of new values, we need to be ideologically strengthened. Following several decades of work, we are in possession of many experiences that are worthy of being theoretically and ideologically processed, and we should do so.

Ideological renewal is also essential for the implementation of our program. Building a socialist society is a deliberate activity, even when one naturally encounters spontaneous and unforeseeable phenomena in the economy and in society's awareness. An ideology that is built on Marxist-Leninist theory should be flexible enough to enable deliberate action.

In addition to Marxist ideology, non-Marxist ideologies also influence our society. No matter which thinking carries the elements of truth, the party and the Marxists should be open to them and ready to discuss them. Marxism should strive for supremacy, not monopoly; it should influence society and not dominate it. Divergent opinions and different points of view on the same issue can also develop on the basis of Marxism. That is why we are obliged to look for alternatives and compare them.

The fact that society is ideologically multifaceted and the fact that it has a multitude of interests [erdektagoltsag] also have an effect on political action. However, the future of the development of socialist democracy does not lie in division. The future lies in the unity of society and in asserting the public will and interest without harming—although occasionally limiting—the assertion of individual or group interests.

Self-management is the future of socialist development. What is the meaning of self-management from our point of view? Basically, its meaning is that the entire society participates in working out the policy, making decisions, organizing, managing, and participating in their implementation, and supervising this.

The development of self-management is a long process that requires a high degree of self-awareness, an organizational framework, and an economic basis. But at present we already have the capacity to establish and introduce self-government in communities, work communities, and various institutions that are established on the basis of some motivation or interest. We have the capacity to extend the sphere of influence of the existing institutions that represent the people, to institutionalize voting by the population, and to gradually develop a structure of several elements that promote, strengthen, and enable self-government.

Consensus on New Bases [subhead]

A given society is interested not only in solving its present problems, it is also interested in the future. The future, however, depends primarily on the present management and the intellectual forces that are being generated at present and will be available in the future.

Socialism is the great historical venture of the Hungarian people. It is focused on man; politics, economy, ideology, and culture is at his service to facilitate his self-assertion both morally and politically, and also in his living conditions. Only socialism can make Hungary flourish; but only the entire society acting together and in a coordinated way is able to build socialism. A considerable part of the energy required to build socialism will be lost if society is divided by political or other struggles. In this respect, strengthening and renewing our consensus is, a matter of vital national importance.

Among the present generations, some generations were previously successful and then experienced suffering. The generations that are currently growing up or have just matured have not really experienced success. We must agree among ourselves to lay the foundations for the period when these generations will be able to be successful and rich in successful experiences, for the benefit of the entire Hungarian nation. All the various generations together represent a large treasure; cooperation between the generations is the guarantee for further development. What is required is not only the development of the consensus between the generations which is occasionally disrupted, and therefore has to be constantly renewed. To implement our program the participation of all the social strata is required.

The question we should answer is: Can unity exist in such a divided society, one that is also structurally divided?

Taking into account our development and the results that we have achieved through great efforts, we are able to say that the consensus of the Hungarian people—who respect their history, preserve the lessons they've learned, comprehensively accept their present, and create their future by themselves—on achieving socialism that functions more efficiently, has been established, and is also being expressed. Consensus in Hungary is not a temporary phenomenon nor a transitory state: In a nationwide consensus, the past and the present are the parents of the common future. The development of socialist agreement is the result of a historical process and the source of development. Nationwide consensus, however, is a political instrument that needs constant renewal and is constantly developing it. Because nationwide consensus feeds on historical experiences, it aims at implementing large-scale national goals and must not break under the burden of temporary contradictions and difficulties. Yesterday's unity is no longer constant and it is exposed to challenges. A new consensus is needed. We should discover the foundations on which these new alliances can be established, without getting rid of old alliances, since the relations between the state and the church, and between Marxism-Leninism and religion, for example, are based on lasting principles. However, a new form of cooperation should be established between people with different opinions who foresee the future differently. A developing political style as well as patience are important conditions for cooperation.

The Hungarian nation is united in its evaluation of the basic issues. However, repeatedly renewed consensus on policy details is also essential for carrying out daily activities. If shaping the present and the future is a common goal for all of us, it will be possible to establish real cooperation, common action, and a consensus that will contribute to the progress of the entire nation. Only a real relationship of real and equal partners can be the basis for this political unity.

In everyday practice, the comprehensive nationwide consensus will become an active force. Its achievements will encourage our self-confidence, and increase our self-respect and confidence. On the basis of this confidence, we can wish everybody a happy and peaceful new year.

Army Official on Activity, Savings

AU131252 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jan 88 p 5

[Interview with Major General Pal Mazan by Correspondent Andras Bencsik: "Peace for the Soldier—Interview with Major General Pal Mazan"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Major General Pal Mazan, development head and deputy main division head of the Hungarian People's Army, is a member of the body of generals and is personally responsible for the development of domestic military technology. The subject of our discussion is peace and what it means for a professional soldier. [passage omitted]

[Bencsik] What does a soldier do, what do you do in conditions of peace?

[Mazan] On the basis of the Warsaw Pact, the Hungarian People's Army has to fulfill tasks connected with this coalition, but, in addition to this and to its inevitable task of defending the homeland, it must serve primarily the interests of the domestic people's economy. As for my own interest, let me say that what characterizes us is not just the fact that we deal neither with strategic arms nor with nuclear or chemical weapons—although we have such tasks deriving from our coalition agreement, tasks coordinated with our conditions and potential—but also the fact that in our work we adapt ourselves to technical development projects connected with the people's economy and our work is done in coordination with these projects. [passage omitted]

In recent years, for example, we developed an important military water purification installation for the armed forces, and also for coalition interests; this installation can be successfully applied under war conditions also in the most contaminated areas, but it can similarly be used in areas affected by natural or other disasters. [passage omitted] I can, of course, list other examples too, like the complex camp hospital or camp bakery, or the portable radio and television studios which are able to take up broadcasting when the main radio and television stations have been damaged. [passage omitted]

Relations with NATO [subhead]

[Bencsik] How are the relations between the representatives of the opposing sides?

[Mazan] We were pleased to say that both coalitions—and also the nonaligned and neutral countries affected—strictly observe the stipulation of the Stockholm agreements, for example, that applies to the mutual notice of military exercises that exceed a certain number of troops. This year, Hungarian generals and officers participated, among other things, in NATO exercises as observers. I must stress the correct attitude displayed by the NATO representatives on these occasions. I hope that their observers will experience the same attitude, if we hold exercises to which we invite them. [passage omitted]

Army Saving [subhead]

[Bencsik] Many people are concerned about the extent of military expenditures.

[Mazan] [passage omitted] I am convinced that Hungary's social and political leadership acted correctly when it called upon the Army, too, to institute saving procedures. The Hungarian People's Army has reduced the costs that have today placed too large a burden on the people's economy. The rate of housing construction has slowed down, we have reduced certain social expenditures, and there were also some arms that the Warsaw Pact was able to take over in these difficult times. At the same time, however, the Hungarian People's Army is able to preserve its level of development, its technology, and even new research and development projects are under way in the spirit of saving. In other word, the Army cannot avoid participating in the efforts of the people's economy, and it wants to participate in the government's stabilization program. [passage omitted]

FRG's Genscher Continues Official Visit

Makes Pre-Visit Statement

AU131217 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jan 88 p 2

["Hans-Dietrich Genscher: We Declare A Readiness To Intensify Cooperation"—PAP headline]

[Text] Directly before leaving for Warsaw, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who had already stressed the "special moral significance" of relations between the FRG and Poland in a press interview prior to the Polish visit, issued a statement that was published by the press office of the Foreign Ministry, something not usually done by a chief of Bonn diplomacy before making a foreign trip.

In the statement, the minister points out that his Polish visit "is occurring at a time when a new way of thinking is creating a prospect of fundamental change in East-West relations." In this new situation, the Germans and Poles bear "particular responsibility for joint safeguards of peace, a responsibility stemming from their history and location in the heart of Europe. It is the Polish people that serve as a gauge for the moral quality of our foreign policy. Past sufferings and the realization that if the cause of peace were to be defeated in the nuclear age, chances of development would be erased are encouraging the Germans and Poles to be the driving force of a stable peaceful order in Europe. We must look ahead and consider the tasks which the future is setting us. Peace, harmony, and cooperation based on confidence must determine the path of German-Polish relations." Genscher asserted that the Federal Republic wants to develop relations with Poland "at all levels and in all spheres," and that "the basis for this was created by the Warsaw treaty of 7 December 1970, which lays down the path to a peaceful European order just as the basic treaty with the GDR and the CSCE documents adopted in Helsinki, Madrid, and Stockholm do." Next, Minister Genscher stressed that his visit to Poland was "taking place at a time of political and economic changes in Poland. We are monitoring these changes with great care and interest. The countries of Europe need stabilization. We want to help as much as we can. We declare a readiness to intensify cooperation in the economic, scientific, and technical spheres, and in the solving of environmental problems." The minister pointed out the possibility of further reviving cultural exchanges and all kinds of personal traffic. At the end, he expressed his conviction that a more dynamic and comprehensive development of mutual relations "lies not just in both countries' interests, but also in the interests of the people of all Europe."

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD132032 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Jan 88

[no video available]

[text] The 4-day Polish-West German talks have ended. This morning Hans-Dietrich Genscher was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

During the talks there was a comprehensive exchange of views on the subject of the state and prospects of bilateral relations and current international problems. In assessing the state of the normalization of mutual relations, which began with the signing of the 1970 treaty, the results achieved owning to the determination of both sides were noted. Against this backdrop the need for further active measures for development, the achievement of specific and positive results, especially in the economic sphere, and the removal of obstacles which still occur in various sphere were stressed.

Wojciech Jaruzelski noted the willingness and determination of the Polish side to act for the full normalization and comprehensive development of Polish-FRG relations. The FRG Chancellor's visit to Poland would be a significant expression of that, a visit preceded by the achievement of qualitative and tangible progress in the basic spheres of cooperation. The political, formal and legal basis for such a state of relations is the 1970 treaty. Its consistent observance and the implementation of the decisions contained in it form a basic criterion of both partners' credibility. There are real chances to begin a new, more dynamic and constructive stage in the development of bilateral relations. Their promotion would have great political significance, benefiting both countries, while also providing a valuable contribution by Poland and the FRG to the preservation of detente and the development of general European cooperation.

During the meeting the general international situation was discussed, particularly the needs and possibilities for enhanced mutual trust and European security. The expediency of uniting the efforts of both states, of undertaking initiatives, and of creating conditions to pursue detente and disarmament in East-West relations was also noted. Wojciech Jaruzelski presented against this backdrop the Polish initiatives and activities in the European forum, which are aimed at arms reduction, increased trust, and the stimulation of a general European dialogue. In this context, the strengthening of political stability in Europe is particularly important and its unalterable condition remains respect for the existing territorial and political order in our continent.

Further on Meeting

LD140003 Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received a group of outstanding representatives of FRG social, cultural, and scientific life at the Belweder Palace here today. The group were accompanying FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in his official visit to this country.

Participants in the meeting agreed that the necessary premise for further development in the Polish-FRG relations lies in the observance and implementation of

the 1970 treaty, which is a legal and political foundation of normalization and overcoming—in tune with its spirit and letter—the still existing problems and obstacles.

They stressed a special role of the opinion-shaping milieux in creating an unbiased image of Poland and eliminating the still existing stereotypes. They said that a great role in this field is to be played by the development of an integrally-treated cooperation between Poland and the FRG in the field of culture, science, technology, and economy.

They also talked about the moral sides of the relations between Poland and the FRG, including those connected with the final regulation of all questions related to the tragic era of World War II and the Nazi occupation in Poland.

The discussion stressed the European aspects of mutual relations, and drew attention to the fact that Poland and the FRG together could do much for Europe by starting actions for the cause of significant progress in bilateral relations and strengthening security, confidence, and detente on our continent. The Polish leader thanked his guests for their hitherto activity and involvement in what he termed the historic cause of building agreement between societies and overcoming the difficult Polish-German past.

Assesses Goals, Directions

LD131825 Warsaw PAP in English
1525 GMT 13 Jan 88

(By Stanislaw Filipczak, Janusz Dworecki)

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—At the close of his official visit to Poland Hans-Dietrich Genscher met here with a group of Polish and foreign newsmen. He presented a short assessment of the visit, stressing that it had been prepared extremely thoroughly and intensively by the two sides, for they aimed at giving fresh impetus to Polish-German relations.

Genscher also said that the 1970 historic treaty had until today embraced not only Germans and Poles, but also had influence on the development of the situation in Europe as a whole. One can say without exaggeration that the Helsinki Accord would have been impossible had it not been for the December 1970 Treaty, Genscher said. Thus the two countries lived up to the moral dimension of Polish-German relations and this is what we will also aim at in the future.

Referring to the goals of his visit Genscher said that it should lead to a situation in Polish-FRG relations which the two sides desired. The talks held in Poland, those with Wojciech Jaruzelski included, also aimed in this direction and showed that we are in a position to make such a step forward. Our intention is to imbue Polish-German relations with such contents which would create conditions for the FRG'S federal chancellor to pay a visit to Poland. It should result in a breakthrough in German-Polish relations.

Minister Genscher also told newsmen that he had invited his Polish counterpart Minister Orzechowski to pay a visit to the FRG in the first half of 1988. This visit should bring an analysis and assessment of the hitherto efforts in favour of normalizing bilateral relations. Thus it should help prepare the federal chancellor's visit to Poland. The Polish president of the Council of State deemed it also purposeful for the FRG'S federal president to pay a visit to Poland, Genscher added.

While speaking about the talks Genscher said that all the aspects of Polish-German relations had been discussed. We think that Poland and the FRG significantly contribute to the improvement of the East-West relations and the achievement of success in the efforts for arms control and disarmament.

We were talking about these elements concerning arms control and disarmament on which the stands of the two sides can be recognized as concordant. We also found positive convergent points in concepts contained in the Jaruzelski plan.

On the other hand, Genscher went on, honoured was our contribution to the signing of the INF treaty and important statements made by our side on arms control and disarmament.

The FRG attentively and with great interest observes the developments in politics and economy in Poland. In view of our common history and our common plans, such a position is understandable, Genscher said. We want reforms in Poland to end in success. We are interested in the Polish economy being able to increase its efficiency and export abilities. We are also interested in that the confidence on the part of international organizations and Poland's economic partners is strengthened by the effective policy of reforms in this country.

The decision about which road is good for the Polish people must be made here in Poland, but I think that it would be good if countries and representatives of countries and nations which are at one with Poland found words of encouragement. Anyway we wish Poland to be able to solve its social and economic problems. To the best of our ability we will make a contribution so that Poland's policy in this field is successful.

Cooperation in the area of strengthening the process of detente in Europe is a sphere of deepened political dialogue. We will look into the future and we would also like young people from both our countries to meet, Genscher said.

It is our firm intention to make a contribution to the creation of a peaceful European order so that all countries, irrespective of their ideological system, could live in peaceful co-existence, the FRG'S minister for foreign affairs continued.

Thus, the evaluation of the visit, and this corresponds with what was said by my partners, is such that we conducted very important talks and that this was a very important visit in our relations. We want to make use of this to create serious grounds for a visit to Poland by the federal chancellor, Hans-Dietrich Genscher said.

The FRG minister for foreign affairs also answered several questions posed by newsmen. The first concerned the possible contribution of both states to a peaceful development of Europe. Replying, Minister Genscher said that both good hours and tragic chapters were written into the consciousness of both nations. If we are to draw conclusions from this common history, then in today's nuclear conditions it is the assertion about the possibility of surviving solely thanks to frank peaceful cooperation. This means that one side must recognize the interests of the other. The FRG's interest consists in Poland's solving its problems and being stable in political terms. Poland's stability serves the stability of the whole of Europe.

Minister Genscher added that such peaceful cooperation in Europe might flourish permanently only when there were no differences in the living conditions of the people inhabiting it. That is why cultural and scientific-technological cooperation, including the transfer of technology, is necessary. This is absolutely essential for a peaceful development of our joint European home.

Another question referred to the talks conducted by the FRG's foreign minister with the president of the Council of State. Minsiter Genscher said, among other things, that this talk, just as other meetings with Polish politicians lasted longer than planned. I rate the course of the talk with Wojciech Jaruzelski positively. I identify myself with his evaluations pertaining to the character of relations between both our states. After this meeting, as well as after the rest of the meetings in Warsaw, I can state that neither side fell back in the talks on what it had previously expressed.

How will the results of the talks in Warsaw be received by certain CDU activists who are against the normalization of relations with Poland—ran one of the questions. I identify msyelf with everything I told my Polish interlocutors since this agrees with my own personal convictions. But I said everything as a representative of the Federal Government. During the visit I twice talked with the federal chancellor, this does not happen during every trip abroad. This is evidence of the importance which our government assigns to the talks in Warsaw. We would create a false picture of the situation should we allow the assumption to prevail that mutual relations result from the view of a group of people or even a whole party. Reconciliation between us is the expression of the will of all the FRG's citizens. As early as tomorrow I will report to the federal chancellor on the results of the visit. I agree with him in the statement that relations with Poland require immense caution. However, I wish to stress than none of the talks in wars was conducted in such favourable conditions as the one in the Belweder Palace.

Several journalists wanted to know the details of the FRG chancellor's visit to Poland. Minister Genscher replied that in the first half of the year both sides want to make a balance-sheet of the contacts and create the most important premises for the visit. We do not want to succumb to the pressure of time but we think that it should take place still this year. We think taht the chancellor's visit to Poland will be such an important event that it must be appropriately prepared. The idea is that it should create new perspectives in Polish-FRG relations or—as Poland's representatives say—constitute a breakthrough in those relations.

Says Kohl Visit 'Likely'

LD131352 Hamburg DPA in German
1228 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl will probably travel to Poland during this year. The federal foreign minister announced this today at the end of his 3 days of talks with the Polish Government in Warsaw. Genscher said at a press conference that he felt "encouraged" by his talks in Poland and that so much "substantial" progress through intensive preparations would be achieved by then that during the chancellor's visit a "breakthrough in German-Polish relations" could be achieved. Beforehand, Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski is to come to Bonn to "take stock" within the first half of this year.

Genscher said that Poland's head of state and party, with whom he met today, had also expressed a desire for a visit by the federal president. They did not yet discuss ideas about a date. The minister was exceptionally satisfied with his talks with Jaruzelski and stated that the latter had also expressed his desire for "understanding and reconcilation" between Poland and the Federal Republic. None of his previous three rounds of talks with Jaruzelski had taken place under such favorable conditions as this one.

The minister stressed several times that he had spoken in Poland on behalf of the Federal Government and in complete agreement with the chancellor. He phoned him twice and would give him an extensive report tomorrow. He could rely on the support of all citizens in the Federal Republic for understanding and reconciliation with Poland. Genscher did not make any specific agreements in Warsaw. These are to be worked out in three working

parties—economy, bilateral cultural and political relations, and detente in Europe. Agreements are in preparation to set up consulate generals, on scientific and technical cooperation, and on the protection of investments. Genscher spoke in favor of setting up cultural institutes.

Genscher pointed out several times how carefully one has to proceed in view of the moral and historical barriers from the past in German-Polish relations. In reply to questions on more emigration permits for ethnic Germans or more German language tuition in Upper Silesia, he pointed to the satisfactory development in travel. In solving these problems he intends "to discuss but not talk anything to death." One has to act responsibly and with the "care required." Genscher pointed to his dinner speech, which was also printed in the Polish press, in which he called for giving those who want to remain in Poland the possibility of free development in keeping with their cultural and linguistic traditions.

The minister, who brought several leading economic experts with him to Poland, did not give Warsaw any firm economic promises. He encouraged his hosts in their plans for reform and assured that Bonn is interested in the solution by the Poles of their economic and social problems. The country's stability and the wellbeing of its citizens serve the stability of Europe.

The chairman of the Solidarity trade union, which is banned in Poland, Lech Walesa, also supported economic help for Poland in his talks with Genscher. However, these had to be dependent upon progress in reforming the economy and, public life, and on respect for human rights, it says in a press release published today by Solidarity on the meeting yesterday. Walesa spoke in support of close relations between both countries and peoples. In this the basic principle has to be respected "that the Oder-Neisse border is final."

Quits Warsaw for Bonn

LD131355 Hamburg DPA in German
1243 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—The federal foreign minister has today ended his 3-day visit to Poland and early this afternoon commenced his return flight to Bonn. He intends to brief Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl tomorrow on the results of his talks in Warsaw.

Orzechowski Assesses Visit

LD132021 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Jan 88

[no video available]

[Text] Television news has asked Minister Orzechowski for the Polish view of Genscher's visit.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Grzegorz Wozniak] Professor, Minister Genscher, said in an interview yesterday for television news that he is encouraged by the course of his visit. Today we learn that there may be a visit from Chancellor Kohl, perhaps even this year. Is this all, as far as the results of your talks is concerned?

[Orzechowski] Well, in fact, yes. This was a very important visit, a fruitful and an encouraging visit. It has confirmed our role, our place in Europe. [words indistinct] that European policy, cooperation, security in Europe without the participation of Poland, without the active voice of Warsaw is impossible. It testifies to the extent—which transcends the frontiers of our two countries—of the relations between Poland and the FRG. In short, just as in the past, during the late 1960's and the early 1970's, when the agreement between Poland and the FRG paved the way to the Helsinki process, to Helsinki, to the CSCE agreement, in the new international situation now, a new stage in our relations may pave the way to strengthening cooperation and security in Europe.

[Wozniak] Professor, we learn that during the talks words such as "agreement" and "reconciliation" were used. Could you give us your views on this?

[Orzechowski] As you know, the relations between our two countries—and, more broadly speaking, Polish-German relations—have always and continue to be affected by the heritage of the past. There are still many problems which are open and to which no solution has yet been found, although this is neither the time nor the place to enumerate them.

So we have here a certain process; we are still in a transition stage between normalization and agreement. Reconciliation is not something one can issue decrees about; it concerns the attitude of societies, bilateral relations between societies, between various generations. This means that we must settle matters as far as this tragic past is concerned. We must create material conditions—and here I am thinking of the character of cooperation, the scope of such a cooperation, the shape of such a cooperation—before one can speak of reconciliation. Our relations have, to some extent, a moral dimension, which is a result of the past. On this issue too, we must find some way of settling matters. In short, it is not enough to speak of agreement, of reconciliation—one must create conditions for this.

We expect that the declarations, the words that were spoken here by minister Genscher on various occasions and in public—will become deeds. On our side we shall not lack the will; we hope that this will is translated into deeds, into actions, into concrete and material facts—by our partners too. [end recording]

Gorbachev Disarmament Efforts Reviewed

LD140007 Warsaw PAP in English
2302 GMT 13 Jan 88

["Disarmament—Bold But Realistic Vision"—PAP headline; (by PAP commentator)]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—Two years ago, on Jan. 15, 1986, CPSUCC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev made a statement for the Soviet TV whose seven points included the three-stage program of total liquidation of nuclear arms till the year 2000.

The program differed from the earlier ones with its radicalism, scope and the concrete character of the implementing timetable. In addition to this, none of the previous programs envisaged elimination and destruction of so many categories of the existing mass destruction weapons. Thus, it is not surprising that Mikhail Gorbachev's program of freeing the world from the threat of nuclear annihilation in the historically short term of only 15 years met with immense interest on the part of both public opinion and the governments of states from all continents.

The program reflected the new political thinking on the problems of security and disarmament. It puts an end to the conviction that peace in the world can be based only on mutual "nuclear deterrence", and instead it proposes to establish military stability at an ever lower level of armed forces and armaments under strictest possible measures of control and supervision.

What has been achieved on the basis of Gorbachev's program opens new possibilities in many other fields of the East-West disarmament dialogue. The program in question has been developed, basing on the contribution of the common political-military thought of the Warsaw Treaty states, especially as concerns the aspect of reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. The Jaruzelski plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in the central part of the European Continent has made a particular contribution in this respect. Like in the case of Gorbachev's program, its philosophy is based on the totally new approach to the problems of security, that is the principles of sufficient and nonprovocative defence.

On Jan. 15, 1986, a completely new chapter opened in the history of the East-West disarmament dialogue. This is where the significance of this date lies. After only two years since the announcement of Gorbachev's plan it can be noticed—with considerable surprise—how many of the ideas included in it have become reality and how many important chances it has already received for the nearest future. This means that the plan includes visions that are bold as well as realistic.

Rakowski Discusses Soviet Restructuring

AU131536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 11 Jan 88 p 6

[Report by Slawomir Popowski, PAP's Moscow correspondent, on a visit to the Soviet Union paid by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and vice marshal of the PPR Sejm: "Restructuring—A New Stage in the Development of the Socialist Camp"]

[Text] Moscow. PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski writes: Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and vice marshal of the PPR Sejm, has paid a week long visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the chairmen of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

During his stay in Moscow, M. F. Rakowski was received by Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They discussed issues pertaining to socioeconomic and political development in both countries and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union.

M. F. Rakowski also met Anatoliy Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary. They discussed issues relating to the expansion of democracy in the USSR and in Poland, and the development of cooperation between both countries.

The Sejm vice marshal also had meetings with Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and representatives of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during which there was considerable discussion about ways of expanding cooperation between the Polish and Soviet Parliaments.

In addition, M. F. Rakowski met Viktor Mironyenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and held a whole series of meetings with journalists and scholars, and Soviet intellectuals involved in the formulation of the restructuring program.

The Soviet mass media showed great interest in Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's visit to the Soviet Union. At the end of the visit the PZPR Politburo member and PPR Sejm vice marshall made a statement to PAP's correspondent:

"Restructuring, openness, and a new style of political thinking—what do these terms, which have become so popular all over the world, mean for Poland? What do they signify for the socialist world? Can we even talk about the birth of a new model of socialism?

"I think that these terms herald the beginning of a new stage in the development of the socialist camp. What is happening in the Soviet Union today ought to be viewed from this angle. The Soviet party and its leadership have

examined the development of socialism in the USSR to date in a very sober and realistic way. They have managed to break away from the schematic concepts and simplifications that my leftist generation grew up with. The introduction of a policy that initiated the process of acceleration, reorganization, and glasnost is a product of a new way of thinking. As a result, the Soviet Union has started to conduct a very critical assessment of the past and in many cases this has been very painful for Soviet society, which has been attached to definite ideas and concepts about socialism, so much so that such a process is necessary.

"There is no doubt in my mind that what is happening in the Soviet Union today—and the separate identities of the various nationalities are being preserved—must have an influence on the entire socialist camp.

"An important factor, which—I think— will be of fundamental significance for the entire socialist camp, is the persistently repeated thesis that economic reforms cannot be separated from a reform of public life, the democratization of public life, including the internal democratization of the party as the leading force in Soviet society.

"I would like to draw attention to one more very important element: A Soviet Union that frees itself from the fetters of conservatism and dogmatism—which is something that is being discussed everywhere here as are those forces that are hindering further development—and a Soviet Union that overcomes inertia and creates conditions that will release all the creative forces in the nation can help to increase the importance of the leftist camp all over the world."

Jaruzelski Congratulates CSSR's Husak

AU131218 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jan 88 p 1

[Greetings message from PPR State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski to CSSR President Gustav Husak on his 75th birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, in Prague:

Esteemed and dear Comrade Husak! On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and PPR State Council and on my own behalf, I send you warm congratulations and best wishes on your 75th birthday.

We accord genuine respect and recognition to your long struggle and work for the cause of the Czechs and Slovaks, national and social liberation, and ultimately for Socialist Czechoslovakia's comprehensive development.

You have made a major contribution to consolidating the international solidarity of working people, tightening the CSSR's bonds with the entire community of socialist states, and to the struggle for peace and friendship among nations.

Polish society values you as a fervent patriot and communist, distinguished statesman, and warrior for the development of fraternal relations and comprehensive cooperation between our states.

On your 75th birthday I wish you, dear Comrade Husak, health and further success in your highly responsible work for the good of the peoples of the CSSR and for the cause of socialism and peace.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PPR State Council chairman

PZPR International Commission Meeting Meets

LD132339 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—The key issues of Poland's foreign policy and Poland's activities on the international arena in 1988 were the subject of a meeting here today of the PUWP CC's International Commission, presided over by PUWP Central Committee Secretary and Political Bureau Member Jozef Czyrek.

The participants drew attention to, among other things, the systematic improvement of Poland's position on the international arena. They also stressed the necessity of strengthening Poland's position in international economic cooperation under conditions of the implementation of the 2nd stage of the economic reform, which should have a favourable influence on the realization of the planned intentions in the international field.

Analyzing the international situation, the participants stressed the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the U.S., and especially of the Soviet-American INF treaty.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the improvement of the atmosphere in the world created favourable conditions for the further activization of Poland's foreign policy for strengthening peace, detente and wide international cooperation. This requires consistent development of Polish initiatives, especially the Jaruzelski Plan, whose topicality and importance are increasing in the light of the Washington summit's results.

OPZZ Takes Action on Price, Income Policy

Notes Union Disapproval

LD131503 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] The Council of the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ) is holding debates under the chairmanship of Alfred Miodowicz. The session is discussing the modified government draft for the implementation of this year's price and income policy.

Waclaw Martyniuk, deputy chairman of the Council, opened the discussion by presenting opinions submitted by unionists, union organizations, and federations of unions. Addressing the government representatives, including deputy premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, Martyniuk said that he was forced to warn them of the social moods. The concept presented by the government has not achieved union support. In the opinions sent in, it is stated that the reform is nothing but the raising of prices, which fuels inflation; while pay, striving to catch up, continues to lose real value.

The unionists do not believe that after the proposed price increases for fuel and electricity it will prove possible to maintain the 27 percent overall index of price increases. Nor do they believe that the standard of living will be maintained. The proposals for compensations were deemed ridiculous. There is also universal opposition to the proposals for income tax.

Rejects Price, Income Policy

LD132124 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Jan 88

[No video available]

[Text] A discussion on the subject of the government draft prices and incomes policy lasted for 6 hours at the OPZZ Council. The trade unionists have rejected the government proposals.

[Begin recording] [Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman] We had over 150 expert reports; and we held a very important debate today, which was preceded by lengthy talks within our federations and at the sessions of the voivodship bodies of OPZZ. We can therefore state with full responsibility that quite significant changes must be made in the draft prices and incomes policy. Above all, one must note that if we are saying that the standard of living is not to fall—and this constitutes the basis of our action because it results from the resolutions of the trade union congress—then everything which raises our cost of living must be compensated for. Hence our annoyance at the amount of 1,750 zloties spread over two installments, the amount which was fundamentally questioned today; and if I understand the speech by the minister of labor correctly, the ministry is pulling back from this unhappy concept, too.

But this still leaves the whole section of welfare proposals, old age pensioners, those who get family benefits, child benefits and so on—all this should be changed. As far as the trade unions are concerned, prices are prices, but the most important thing is to produce, to work well, everything which motivates; and let us not hide the fact that good work is motivated by a good wage. The fact that people move from state firms to private ones proves that wherever the pay is better is where one finds the better workers. One should compete with them. The point is not to make them earn less, but to learn something from them about what can be done to pay people more and to get more staff to transfer from private sector to the state sector.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr Deputy Premier, you took part in this over-6-hour long debate, can we have your first impressions and conclusions?

[Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski] The government values highly these meetings and the trade union opinions, even though these views are sometimes formulated in a language which is somewhat difficult to accept and contain certain unjustified charges.

But, I think, in the final reckoning the stance adopted by the OPZZ today contains many themes which are very close to the government's views and are proof of the mutual concern of the government and the trade unions to maintain real incomes and to assure a proper relation between the wages and the results of production. This is our aim. The debate has shown that one must make sure that the issue of prices and wages is not seen as a separate and isolated problem, because it is just a part of the whole great complex of the program of the second stage of the reform implemented by the government. Its success depends on the realization of all other elements of the program. Without understanding this fact, it is not really possible to reach a conclusion in the debates. [end recording]

Opinion Summarized by PAP

LD132315 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 13 Jan 88

["OPZZ Council's Opinion on 1988 Price-Income Policy (Summary)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—The OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions' National Council in an opinion on the price-income policy in 1988, published here today, states the following:

1. In the first year after the congress of the reborn Polish trade unions the OPZZ Council is once again faced with the problem of price hikes. During this time there has been a drop in real incomes in the socialized sector, inflation has grown and there has been a further widening of the income scissors between employees of socialized work establishments and those of other sectors.

2. The trade unions many times put forward proposals of solutions striving towards the arresting of the price-income race. These were not taken into consideration. The social effects of an economic policy, especially the price-income policy, conducted in such a way are difficult to forsee.

3. Once again we are stating that the income-price policy which is being continued does not contribute to the elimination of crisis phenomena and has not led to

perceptible improvement of the material situation of the working people. On the contrary, it leads to a systematic fall of the working people's share in the division of the national income. It is also conducive to ill-gotten gains being snatched up by social groups which prey on the economic disequilibrium and constant price hikes.

The OPZZ Council states that the trade unions do not agree with the assumptions of the price-income policy for 1988 presented for consultations since the proposed methods of compensating the growing costs of living do not ensure the maintenance of the real income level in worker, old age and disability pensioner households. The envisaged direct compensation to the amount of 1,750 Zlotys in worker families and 2,800 Zlotys in pensioner families evokes social indignation, while the proposed general index of the price increases evokes, in society's opinion, a lack of confidence and distrust.

Should decisions be made with regard to price rises, we—being obligated by the resolutions of the congress of reborn Polish trade unions, and concerned with the implementation of the resolution of the PUWP 10th Congress—hereby demand:

1. Full compensation of the 1988 increase in costs of living for employees, pensioners and disability-allowance recipients as well as for members of their families through full compensation of the increase in agreed and official prices. The compensation should be direct and to the value of 6.750 Zloty.

2. Full and proportional to the increase in costs of living real rendition of: Minimal pay and social disability benefit, family, maternity and nursing benefits, scholarships, children's and foster families benefits, and other allowances.

3. Granting of an extra compensation for the persons who retired or were given disability allowance prior to December 31, 1987, to the value of average revaluation sum of March 1987.

The OPZZ Council is of the opinion that:

1. Pay is the price of Labour and thus it is imperative that it be rendered real. Crews of employees must have complete liberty to obtain high wages for honest work.

2. Presented by the government and envisaged to be included in the system of cash compensations, the basket of commodities and services can in no way be approved of by the trade unions. The basket must also provide for commodities and services with contract prices. Amended and worked-out in accord with the present stance, the basket of goods must be negotiated with the trade unions.

The OPZZ council appeals to the Polish Sejm to consider the possibility to amend the hitherto methodology of calculating costs of living, and to the government to carry out, together with the OPZZ and the Central Statistical Office (GUS), an in-depth analysis of the costs of living for the first half of 1988, and should they exceed the presupposed indicator, to raise the compensations appropriately.

The labour movement pledges full cooperation when designing and jointly implementing the programme thus designed.

Academics Call for Independent Unions

AU132040 Paris AFP in English
2008 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 13 (AFP)—More than 400 Warsaw University academics and staff have called on the government to restore independent trade unions, union sources said here Wednesday.

In a petition last month to the council of state, which is chaired by Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, they urged the government to rescind a bill of December 1982 allowing only one trade union, the sources said.

At that time, the government set up an official union, the OPZZ, replacing the Solidarity trade union, which was banned after the imposition of martial law in December 1981.

The university petitioners have in the meanwhile set up a Solidarity union committee and filed to have it registered officially, the sources said.

Gwiazda Cites Exports, Hard-Currency Earnings

PM121539 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA
in Polish 17 Nov 87 p 1-2

[Report by Adam Kilian on 14 November meeting in Walbrzych between Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Wladyslaw Gwiazdaand representatives of major exporting enterprises in Walbrzychregion: "The Anxieties and Doubts of Walbrzych Exporters: Minister Gwiazda's Dreams; What About the Ruble Accounts; Stricter Requirements from Soviet Traders"]

[Text] Last Saturday the small cafe at the Lower Silesia Mining Equipment Plant in Walbrzych was the meeting place of the voivodship's major exporters. Managing directors were in the majority. Before the head of the new Ministry of Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries arrived, the conversation—conducted over apple and mint-flavored juice and assorted cookies—centered on troubles encountered by our exporters. A couple of minutes after schedule, the secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee introduces the guest: Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda. There follows a short profile of Walbrzych exports, information about the Exporters Club, some facts and figures which go in one ear and out the other, and presently the host asks for questions to be put to the minister.

[Questioner] How much longer are we going to differentiate between the domestic and foreign market? One minister says: "Produce for export"; another: "Produce more for the domestic market." Why do we need two ministries, one for the domestic market and one for cooperation with foreign countries?

"We did think about this," admitted the minister. "We looked at various solutions adopted in Eastern and Western countries. In their time the Bulgarians merged these two sectors, but practice proved it necessary to separate them again. And that made us slightly wary of adopting a similar system, although in some Western countries these matters are handled within one sector. But over there both the market and the trade sector are different," explained Minister Gwiazda. "In Great Britain they are combined into one ministry, which also includes the relevant industry and altogether employs over 14,000 people. However, they have separate divisions for industry, foreign trade, and domestic trade".

[Questioner] Ministries have been rearranged, but when one has some business in a particular ministry, one has to fight one's way through many bureaucratic obstacles...

Minister Gwiazda informed the questioner that he intended to eliminate 10 departments and thus bring their number down to 12. He wanted to reduce the number of ministerial staff from about 580 to 380. In this way, only the best and most efficient personnel will be left, and it would be possible to offer them better pay. Ministries do not pay as much as people think they do. A departmental director earns less than Z40,000 [per month], and a specialist officer gets about Z25,000. A more important point is that the structure of posts within the ministry will be flattened as follows: specialist officer; departmental director; minister. A large proportion of decisions will be made at enterprise level. The ministry will occupy itself with the exports policy, with deciding the directions of development and creating favorable exporting conditions.

[Questioner] We know that hard-currency allowances [allocated to enterprises as a proportion of their foreign sales returns] are, next to tax allowances, a considerable incentive in foreign trading. They are, however, too small...

[Text] "And that is why," said the minister, "things will be changed. What we want is for the state to receive those allowances as a proportion of enterprises' export returns, and for enterprises to manage their own returns from selling their products in foreign markets. For the time being the ministry intends to introduce 2-3 different levels of foreign currency allowances for individual branches of industry or individual groups of commodities. As early as 1989-90 we intend to tie the rate of foreign currency allowances to the degree of technology involved in the production of the goods involved. Producers who sell high-technology goods abroad would get the top rate, that is, 50 percent. Exporters of medium-technology goods would rate 30-50 percent, and those who sell low-technology goods for hard currency would get 20 percent.

[Questioner] I could, for example, sell my product at a profit for U.S. dollars in the PEWEX or Baltona chains but it does not really pay because there are no hard-currency allowances to be obtained that way. And if I were to seek a foreign import agent, would it be worth it? Paying him in hard currency?

The minister agreed with these views. It is in the nature of things that one side exports the goods which the other side imports at a high cost. Consequently, the minister had suggested to the finance minister that subcontractors—who at present prefer to sell their products directly abroad rather than to the exporting producers of finished goods—ought to be allowed tax concessions too. The possibility is being considered of introducing an extemporaneous list of commodities on which an export ban could be placed until the needs of exporting producers at home are satisfied. "Such an administrative ban would be unpopular," added the minister "and could not in the long run take the place of an appropriate economic mechanism..."

[Questioner] Minister, what is your assessment of the system of ruble accounts?

[Gwiazda] There is already some 300 million rubles in those accounts in Poland. Some difficulties have arisen with spending that money, since it is not possible to buy machines or materials in CEMA countries as one wishes. This is because of the exchange regulations in force, based on international agreements. The trouble is that our exports to those countries have recently decreased while imports have increased. Possibly ruble allowances will be taken into consideration in international economic agreements.

[Questioner] Why are so few firms created with the aid of foreign capital?

[Gwiazda] Our laws and regulations offer little encouragement to foreign investors. Why must we always have the larger share? Why must the managing director be Polish and not, say, Japanese, if the Japanese candidate wishes to fill the position? The relevant act regulating these matters is to be updated. Supply of capital is not the only thing we are after: We also want new machines and technological processes.

[Questioner] In the future, will we be able profit from capital transfer and trading with convertible currencies?

[Gwiazda] We are studying such possibilities too, but they belong to the future, not to the present day.

[Questioner] What about hard-currency exchange rates? Will there be any changes?

According to Minister Gwiazda, the rates of exchange will fluctuate. "This is what exporters demand, but industrialists stipulate that hard currency exchange rates should jump up and overtake the rate of increase of production costs. Is that realistically possible in our economic situation? If we increase the hard-currency exchange rate by 10 percent, market retail prices will go up by something like 2.5-3 percent. Consequently, a 100-percent increase in hard-currency exchange rates, demanded by some producers, would mean a 30-percent jump in retail prices. That solution is unacceptable, no matter how hard the IMF and the World Bank may try to persuade us to accept it. They want the exchange rates to stand at least at Z500 to the dollar and Z200 to the ruble. Our own views are indeed similar, but the problem lies in the time over which an operation of this size should be extended: whether to do it in one go or, more slowly, in several stages.

"In the second place," said Minister Gwiazda, "we can achieve an equilibrium in the external market, but this should take place within the general development process, not at the expense of that process. Furthermore, it could not be attempted before the start of the next five-year period. We must not forget that any change in the currency rates is immediately reflected in the consumption and investment funds. We want to take a bold step into serious export," added the minister, "but we expect others to assist us. We must not do it at the expense of our living standard or national development. Today our exports to the dollar-zone countries amount to some 7 billion dollars. If we could manage to increase them to 10 billion dollars" (which, I guessed, is Minister Gwiazda's cherished dream), "then our turnover balance would go up by about 1 billion dollars, which could buy a lot of extra materials or foodstuffs. If we exported to the value of 10 billion dollars, we could be making interest repayments. That amount of 1 billion dollars would give even small enterprises a chance of replenishing their hard-currency funds and, consequently, increasing their exports."

The minister finds it surprising that enterprises are not falling over themselves to obtain credit from the Export Development Bank. It is true that they have already received some 100 million dollars and this will, consequently, regularly increase their exports by 100 million dollars a year. They also run some 50 joint exporting ventures each year, for which they have received about 60 million dollars and which will bring an extra 120-150 million dollars in exports each year. If we could, therefore, maintain this year's trends in our exports to the dollar-zone countries, things would improve, although this does not mean that they would be easier. Regardless of the agreement we signed with the Paris Club, we still have to make substantial repayments in hard currency.

"We also want," added Minister Gwiazda, "to galvanize many smaller producers into joining international trade. Relevant legislation is already being prepared. Even so, we cannot pretend to ignore the fact that large-scale exports presuppose large-scale exporters. For example, in the FRG some 50-55 percent of all exports is effected by 10 firms."

[Questioner] What possibilities are there for exporters to trade in hard currencies among themselves?

[Gwiazda] One of the recommendations made by the IMF concerns this particular point. The Fund stipulates that hard currency should be freely transferable between firms so that exporters could be in the position to buy them. That is why are extending the scale of hard-currency auction sales which perhaps will develop eventually into exchange-type money markets. However, there are still too few customers interested in obtaining hard currency from this source."

Minister Gwiazda devoted a substantial amount of time to discussing cooperation within CEMA. We must not forget about our exports to that area either. Our debt to the Soviet Union amounts to about R5.4 billion. And the Soviet side will no longer accept anything and everything. For example, we had been planning to export machines and equipment to the USSR to the value of R400 million, but the Soviet side accepted only some R40 million's worth of goods out of what we had offered them. This is because they are primarily interested in quality and in modern technology. Although there is no end of calls to set up joint investment projects, when it comes to committing oneself, each side begins to make meticulous calculations. This is hardly surprising. That is why so much has been done recently to stimulate cooperation between CEMA countries.

These were just a few of the questions asked by the Walbrzych exporters and the answers given to them by Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Wladyslaw Gwiazda.

Dascalescu Meets Soviet Vice Premier Voronin
AU131901 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1849 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/1/1988—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Supply Committee of the USSR, now visiting Romania, on January 13.

During the interview they discussed questions of further development of the Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and collaboration in the spirit of the summit agreements. In this sense, new possibilities were analyzed of expanding the economic, technological and scientific collaboration, of amplifying the cooperation and specialization in production, of increasing and diversifying the commercial exchanges upon mutually advantageous bases between Romania and the Soviet Union.

The interview was attended by Ion C. Petre, minister of technical-material supply and control of fixed assets administration.

Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, Bucharest ambassador of the Soviet Union, was present.

Angolan President Reciprocates Greetings
AU141012 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
12 Jan 88 p 3

[Message from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos "To Comrade Nicolae, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania"]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

On behalf of the Angolan people, the Central Committee of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola—Party of Labor [MPLA—PT], and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, I want to express thanks to you for the warm message of congratulations you extended on the 12th anniversary of our country's independence.

I want to take this opportunity to reaffirm our sincere desire to contribute to the constant development of relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

With high consideration,

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, MPLA—PT chairman and president of the People's Republic of Angola.

Elena Ceausescu Thanks Well-Wishers
AU141044 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0654 GMT 14 Jan 88

["Letter by Comrade Elena Ceausescu to Those Who Sent Her Congratulatory Messages on her Birthday"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/1/1988—Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, first deputy prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, received congratulatory telegrammes, letters and messages on the anniversary of her birthday and of her long revolutionary activity from party, mass and public organizations, ministries, old militants of the revolutionary and worker movement, collectivities of working people, scientists, men of arts and culture, didactic staff, party and state activists.

Inspired by profound feelings of esteem, appreciation and gratitude, the senders of the messages paid a warm and respectful homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu and wholeheartedly wished her good health and happiness, new successes in the highly responsible activity of leading the party and state, and as a prominent scientist, to the benefit of our whole nation, for the flourishing and progress of Socialist Romania.

Comrade Elena Ceausescu addressed the following letter to all those who had sent her congratulatory messages:

"I am very pleased to warmly thank party organs and mass and public organizations, the ministries and the other state institutions, collectivities of working people in industrial enterprises and farm units, in research, and design, learning, culture and arts institutes, all those who sent me congratulatory telegrammes and letters on my birthday.

"I consider all these manifestations to be an expression of the attachment to and confidence in our Communist Party that has creditably fulfilled its historic mission of leading political force of the whole nation. I assure the party and the people that in future as well I will dedicate my whole activity, my whole power of work and energy to the successful implementation of the grand plans and programs of economic and social development of the homeland, to the progress and steady thriving of Romanian science, education and culture, to the ever more vigorous assertion of Socialist Romania in a world of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

"I take this opportunity to address to all those who congratulated me best wishes of good health and happiness, of fresh and ever greater achievements and satisfactions in work and private life. As this is the beginning of a new year, I wish Communists, our

whole people ever greater successes and achievements in the activity for the attainment of the historic objectives established by the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the Party, for the homeland's economic and social development and Romania's firm advance on the luminous road of socialism and communism."

Elena Ceausescu

Further on LCY Central Committee Meeting

Report on Zarkovic Speech

LD131446 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0605 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—The forthcoming changes to the SFRY Constitution will enable our society to make a new move in developing socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations and socialist self-managing democracy. This was the assessment made by Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his opening speech at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

Our orientations are expressed in a synthesis of three basic demands. The first is that the changes should enable the more successful and more consistent realization of the LCY's strategic concept on free associated labor; they should also enable the political system, through its institutions and decisions, to mobilize and encourage the efforts of all organized subjects in society to a significantly greater extent than it has up to now, to find a way out of the crisis, and to stabilize socialist development on the basis of socialist self-management. The third demand is for the strengthening of the unity and stability of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community.

It would be one-sided, said Zarkovic, to seek the reasons for constitutional changes only in serious problems and inconsistencies in practice. It is also a question of dynamic changes in the structure of our society, changes in the development of production forces and the need for their integration, for the strengthening of the self-managing consciousness, and for the democratization of political relations and similar matters. All these are challenges that also demand new answers in the system, which must be constantly improved and developed, because we are dealing with a society that is in a permanent revolutionary process. If we do not ensure this then our revolution, that is our society, will in the end be threatened by the danger of the restoration of a bourgeois society and by its own bureaucratization.

We must, however, recognize that neither in the LCY nor in the framework of the whole front of organized subjective forces have we been effective in specifically instigating and implementing a process of change in the political system or the Constitution from the 11th congress to today. For some time now LCY ranks have been characterized by marking time, by enslavement to dogma and pragmatism. In this way we have not changed anything in the political system, and we have sunk ever deeper into economic and social crisis.

The situation in which we are undertaking constitutional changes demands that work on amending the Constitution should be among the high priority tasks of the LCY. The crisis is not only increasing the justified dissatisfaction of the workers and citizens but also encourages the forces resisting the revolutionary development of our society on the basis of socialist self-management.

Work on the constitutional changes, warned Zarkovic, will continue to be marked by ideological and political confrontations and hesitation. In the coming period—as it has been up to now while the draft amendments were being prepared—there will be strong resistance to changes motivated by an interest in preserving the technobureaucratic-etatist monopoly over extended reproduction, a dogmatic consciousness, and the making absolute of partial interests, as well as by pressure to make changes from these positions and in these interests. On the other hand, there will be increasingly great pressure from bourgeois ideologies and etatist bureaucratism to use the constitutional changes for changing the basis of the system. This is why the organized and united action of the LCY and of other socialsit subjective forces in the next stages of the constitutional reform is the most important precondition for the constitutional changes, in such a complex and serious situation as this, to be finally not just adopted but implemented in practice.

The LCY cannot represent the leading ideological and political force of the working class and working people if, in such an important social task as constitutional change, we Communists do not more consistently come forward with clear ideological and political stances, orientations, and criteria, and if we do not struggle for them ideologically and politically in democratic public discussion.

Acting within the front of socialist forces, and on the basis of equality with others in a democratic dialogue, the LCY cannot have and does not wish to have a political monopoly, but neither will it allow technobureaucratic and bourgeois liberalist and other elements against self management to impose their solutions and to push through their concepts for the development of society.

In the proposed conclusions the assessment is made that the ideological and political essence of the draft amendments is in line with the basic principles of the Constitution and the stances of the 13th LCY Congress. The proposed constitutional changes express the continuity of development of our constitutional system and enable an important shift in this development.

At the same time, such an assessment does not mean that proposals for certain specific solutions contained in the draft amendments can have nothing either added to them or taken away. On the contrary, the LCY must call for the proposals to be improved and made stronger in keeping with the current development needs of Yugoslav society, so that progress in the development of our system can also be as great as possible. For this reason, the widest possible public discussion should be called for.

The basic significance of the changes in socio-economic relations expressed in the draft amendments, Zarkovic assessed, is the strengthening of the position of self-management organized workers in economic activity, in the creation and distribution of income and the reduction of the power and influence of the etatist, bureaucratic, and technocratic forces in managing associated labor and the currents of social reproduction.

It is also our wish that the constitutional setting of norms will ensure that no one can take part in the usurping and distribution of income on the basis of a monopoly of ownership rights and a monopoly in the workplace over resources in social ownership.

Of particularly great significance are the solutions in the draft amendments which propose that the SFRY Constitution should have established in it; the decisive role of market and other economic laws in economic activity involving social resources and in the evaluation of factors of production; the duty of workers who work with resources of social ownership to bear the material consequences of economically and socially irrational use of these resources; and the right of those workers to make use of the results achieved through work and through the management of those resources.

Also of vital importance are the regulations that propose that the SFRY Constitution should formulate more clearly other forms of ownership in our society also. In this connection, the orientation was taken as a starting point that there is no place for any kind of dilemma or hesitation on the fact that social ownership is and should develop as the dominant socioeconomic and political relations, but it is vital to enable the development of other forms of ownership also, such as personal, private, and collective, and to develop systemic and other preconditions for the development and stability of those forms of ownership. There aim is the more rapid development of society, to raise the standard of living of working people and citizens, to direct the financial resources of the population toward production aims and similar things.

The same can be said, he stated, for the proposals that lead toward the Yugoslav market exhibiting greater market openness toward foreign economies. The new proposals enable our associated labor to be more free in economic cooperation, in joint investments and in business cooperation with foreigners. This will mean the acquisition of additional accumulation, will ensure more economically rational participation in the international division of labor, and will contribute to the affirmation of realistic economic categories in our socioeconomic relations.

The development of joint investments proposed by the Constitution and Legal Institute will enable the greater mobility of social capital in a united Yugoslav economy in the interests of increasing this capital in an optimum way and increasing income. The banks, like the production organizations, should be market oriented, with an interest in the investment and circulation of financial resources, and should take responsibility for business decisions. This will give them the power, like associated labor, to resist political arbitrariness, and to overcome municipal, republican, and provincial boundaries in their business activity. These proposals do not make the banks and the whole financial sphere independent in relation to associated labor, rather they free the banks, as well as associated labor, from the political and other structures which have up to now contributed to the irrational and socio-economically unjustified use of accumulation, with no bearing of responsibility for risks.

New solutions in the sphere of self-managing interest organization should also contribute to the more rational use of social income and the more decisive role of the producer in this.

In order for the workers to truly be the basic subjects in the realization of development policy, solutions are also proposed for the more rational self-managing organization of associated labor. The constitutional changes would give the producers a greater chance to decide for themselves on which form of association they should adopt for their labor and resources of social reproduction, which common interests should be met by this, which resources should be used and what they should be used for, and how to regularize, in the most rational way possible, ways of making decisions on all this.

New solutions in the sphere of socioeconomic regulation are also the basis for greater self-managing integration in associated labor and society, strengthening their direct ties throughout Yugoslavia, associated workers will be the social bastion that will hold back the various disintegrating tendencies and divisions that are imposed on us by the forces of polycentric etatism.

I want to stress, Zarkovic said, that the Commission for Constitutional Questions formed all the proposals in the field of socioeconomic relations with a high degree of agreement, and not one of the proposals submitted was formulated in alternative ways. However, this in no way means that the best solutions have been found for all questions. On the contrary, it is expected with justification that the public discussion will supplement, enrich, expand, and correct these proposals.

In the field of the political system, new solutions are orientated toward democratization and increasing the efficiency of the delegate system as well as removing the scope for strengthening the power and influence of a team of etatist-bureaucratic and technocratic groups. Moves are being made to rationalize the delegate system and integrate it in a more suitable way in order for it to function more successfully. Citing a series of concrete solutions, Zarkovic expressed the belief that they would contribute to the democratization of the delegate system.

Speaking about elections, he said that knowledge and experience until now have endorsed the conviction that the direct election of delegates does not conflict with the essence of the delegate system but, conversely, can contribute to the fuller implementation of this essence.

Zarkovic expresse the belief that the proposed changes in the political system will also have an impact on the more appropriate performance of those functions of the state that protect self-managing production relations, freedom, and the rights of working people and citizens, as well as the constitutional system, constitutionality, and legality. Here, he added, I have in mind, in particular, the proposed solutions designed to more precisely and clearly establish individual functions and the responsibility of competent judicial and state organs and institutions.

All the proposals for constitutional changes in the field of the political system were also formulated in the Commission for Constitutional Questions with a high degree of unity. However, while doing this work we became convinced that the sphere of operation of some of the proposed changes in this field is nevertheless small, especially when it is a matter of the constitutional and legal elaboration of the commune in our system and of the institution of self-managing, agreement-reaching, and social negotiation. As a result there is great expectation, on the part of the Constitutional Commission as well, that the public discussion will enrich these proposals.

The proposed changes with regard to relations in the Federation, or rather the rights and duties of the organs of the Federation, are orientated towards the more fruitful implementation of the conception of the Yugoslav Federation based on socialist self-management and the equality of nations and nationalities, as set out in the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution, and not toward changing this conception.

In the draft conclusions that the Central Committee is supposed to approve today, support is given to the ideopolitical essence of solutions in the amendments, starting from the assessment that they can contribute to strengthening the unity of the Yugoslav market. They can also contribute to implementing more effectively joint interests in the Federation in the field of planning, the banking and credit and monetary system, scientific-technological development and the development of big technological systems, as well as the tax system, the judiciary, and the promulgation of federal laws.

We must be aware of the fact, Zarkovic pointed out, that during the public discussion there will also be attempts to revise the fundamental principles of our policy of intranational relations and the development of the Federation based on original self-managing principles—whether from the point of view of separatism and classical confederalism or from the angle of unitarism and centralism. It is justifiably expected of Communists that they are capable of recognizing and providing well-argued reasons for rejecting such attempts.

One of the key questions which is constantly asked in connection with the series of concrete constitional solutions, is the question of the method of establishing and implementing joint interests in the Federation. This question is most frequently reduced, in essence, to the relationship between the state and self-management in the functioning of our Federation. On the one hand, there is almost exclusive insistence on state characteristics and functions of federal institutions, and on the other there is an attempt to reduce almost all functions of the Federation to its property of being a socialist self-managing democratic community. Conclusions are then drawn from these one-sided theses about the necessity for much greater legal, executive, and other influences of the federal organs that would in fact lead to the restoration of federal centralism. Opposing theses, nevertheless, negate the vital role and responsibility of these organs.

The basic orientation of the LCY is the struggle against the tendencies that have grown up toward statism and technobureaucratic monopoly at all levels of social organization, including within the federation. Also clear is our policy of destatization which, above all, requires associated workers organized on a self-managing basis to take over the key economic functions of the state. However, neither orientation is exclusive but seeks to realize consistently the historically necessary role of the state in the present phase of the development of our society—the role of stimulating and protecting self-managing relations. All this, to a full extent, also affects the Federation. The most important thing is to find a true measure in constitutional solutions for the necessary state functions of the Federation and their real role, starting from realistic social circumstances and, above all, from the level achieved in the self-managing transformation of production and social relations.

It is mistaken and unacceptable, Zarkovic said, to approach relations in the Federation above all, from the point of view of the distribution of administrative-statist influence, ignoring the essential character of our Federation and the responsibility of the republics and provinces for its development as well as the real interests of the working class and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. The authority of the federal organs laid down in the 1974 Constitution is, therefore, and must be, inviolable because the constitution, too, "learns" from experience. If it shows deficiencies and problems we must discover the causes and seek better solutions.

It is of vital importance for the future of socialist self-managing relations in our society and for the cohesion and solidity of Yugoslavia that workers organized on the basis of self-management and working people,

and not statist-bureaucratic structures, have a decisive role both in economic and in political life in the whole of society and, therefore, also in decision-making at the level of the Federation.

The weakest point in our federalism is precisely the fact that it is not based on the decision-making role of workers organized on the basis of self-management and working people in associated labor—in other words, the fact that its self-managing dimensions do not develop in keeping with the fundamental provisions of the SFRY Constitution. The stagnation of this dimension has inevitably led and leads to the statist-bureaucratic glorification of republican states and provincial autonomies and the federal state as well as to their conflict over the distribution of surplus labor, in turn leading to increasing divisions and the weakening of the unity of the Yugoslav community as well as to diminishing the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and the development of Yugoslavia.

Here lie the roots of the increasing weakness of the unity of the Yugoslav market and the isolation of republican and provincial economies within their own areas, the logical outcome of which is the economic stagnation of the country, the strengthening of polycentric statism, and the flourishing of different nationalisms throughout the country.

In these circumstances the federation is often seen as a factor impeding the development of the republics and provinces, instead of being its essential factor and constituent part, as the homeland of all on an equal basis, and the condition for their joint survival.

As a result of all this, the LCY and other socialist subjective forces are obliged to undertake more decisively measures and activities for strengthening the role of workers organized on the basis of self-management and working people in decision-making in society as a whole, and especially in the Federation. This does not mean, nor can it mean, in any sense the bringing into question of the principled standpoint of the LCY on strengthening the unity of class and people in the Yugoslav socialist, self-managing, multinational federal community. Real unity of class and national interests can only be achieved if a system is constructed in which workers organized on the basis of self-management and working people in the whole of production and social relations form both class and national interests.

In the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, it has been proposed to increase the number of delegates from associated labor in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly. Solutions have also been proposed that, to a far greater extent, will contribute to delegates in the Federal Chamber not being general political representatives, but delegates of self-managing organizations and communities who maintain a regular delegate connection with their electoral base. Also proposed is the convocation of a conference of self-managers as a form of strengthening their influence on the decisions of the SFRY Assembly, of special importance for ensuring the functioning of a united Yugoslav market and improving the economic, social, and technological development of the country as a whole.

I am convinced, he said, that thinking on this should move toward strengthening therole of this conference in decision-making in the Federation about vital macroeconomic problems of social reproduction.

Relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have, as is well known, been burdened for a long time by a series of problems, including, in particular, the problems of the implementation of the constitutional position of this republic and the autonomous provinces. Starting from this, the SFRY Presidency's proposal opens up the possibility of examining the proposals for changing individual solutions in the SFRY Constitution. This was done after comprehensive analysis and debate in which the LCY Central Committee Presidium also took part in the process of reaching a political agreement. I want to stress that these proposals were fully agreed to in joint work.

Of no less significance are the corresponding changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces. The settling of relations and the achievement of unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and within this framework the consistent realization of the autonomous provinces as constituent parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and constituent elements of Yugoslav federalism, is of vital importance not only for the republic and the autonomous provinces but also for the implementation of the constitutional conception of the Yugoslav Federation, for the unity of the LCY, and for the stability of the whole country. Hence the strong emphasis in the draft conclusions on the responsibility of Communists for successfully continuing the process of these changes. Agreement achieved so far in connection with the proposal to set about changing the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, although this has been accompanied by many difficulties and lags, is very important because it also makes it possible to reach agreement on specific solutions to be sought on this basis.

Changes to the Constitution, and in particular public discussion about them, are a challenge and an opportunity for the LC and society as a whole, as they become engaged in thiese tasks, to strengthen their unity and the cohesion of our socialist community, stressing first and foremost those elements that, in a fateful way, link all our nations and nationalities. This is why the LC must fight for these constitutional changes and the public debate on them to be accepted as an expression of our strength and the capability to respond to the needs and requirements of the time.

However, the LC does not want a public debate as a formal act and as something merely declarative without effect in these difficult times either. We are advocating that public debates have all the characteristics of a socialist, self-managing, and democratically orientated action for an open and democratic dialogue in which there will be a creative and productive confrontation of arguments and in which their quality will be measured.

The focus of Communist activity must be transferred to the SAWPY, which is also the exponent and coordinator of overall public discussion in other sociopolitical organizations. It is the obligation of the LC in this exceptionally important work to prove its capacity to cope with new methods of activity and implementation of its role at the front of organized socialist forces.

It is particularly important that Communists predominate in interpreting the ideopolitical essence of the solutions proposed and that they try to do this in a complementary way so that the range and consequences of individual solutions are assessed from the viewpoint of the Constitution as a whole.

Much more purposeful and intensive work lies ahead of us, Zarkovic said, in eliminating the normative burdens in the constitution, though in this respect we have not achieved much success in work so far on the draft amendments.

With regard to the draft amendments, changes in the constitutional position of organized subjective forces are not envisaged. Their position is adequately specified in the fundamental principles of the Constitution and there are no new elements or needs that would require something to be changed in this respect in the Constitution. However, we are witnessing an increasingly frequent airing of a thesis about the unacceptability and undemocratic nature of the provisions of the Constitution that lay down the place and role of the LC.

The basis of these theses are endeavors to turn back the wheel of history and introduce political pluralism, the restoration of a multi-party system, and the placing of the LCY on all of the most important questions, including therefore also changes to the Constitution, on the margins of social events.

The LC has, since its Sixth Congress, never in its program documents advocated its own political monopoly and a one-party system as it is often accused of doing. But it is a fact, from which a large part of the disagreement and confusion arise, that socialist subjective forces, above all the LC, are not implementing their role as is defined in the Constitution and in their program documents. Hence, in practise many things must be changed, because unless their role in the system of direct socialist democracy is realized in a new and more contemporary way, they will neither justify their constitutional position, nor will the political system be able to function without serious deformations. Starting from this, liberation from the mentality and methods of the operation of the LC carried over from the practice of the party in power and the logic of the transmission of other organized subjective forces continue to remain our primary task.

During the public debate, the LC has an exceptional task and responsibility for effectively coordinating the stances on individual questions that have still not been coordinated or about which proposals have been formulated in alternative ways. This is a matter of differences that are natural in a democratic society such as ours and that start from the same ideopolitical bases. Such differences, if we relate to them in the right way—responsibly and democratically—can represent a contribution to the establishment of better and more complete solutions.

The constitutional changes are a great opportunity for us but also an examination of our maturity, capability, and responsibility. They also provide us with an opportunity to secure the conditions for a more rapid and successful mastery of the crisis and the opening up of prospects for a more stable development of our society. They are place a great responsibility on us Communists, above all, for securing continuity and on these bases also new advances in the development of the political system of socialist self-management and our revolution in general as set out in the LCY program and the stances and decisions of the 13th LCY congress, Vidoje Zarkovic said, among other things.

Session Ends

LD131916 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—With the adoption of the conclusions on the activity of Communists in the public debate on the draft constitutional changes, the session of the LCY Central Committee has ended. In the discussion in which support was given to the fundamental content of the constitutional amendments, 25 members of the Central Committee took part.

The LCY Central Committee in a special decision obliged the central and provincial committees and the LCY committee in the Yugoslav People's Army to elaborate, on the basis of these conclusions, the immediate obligations of Communists in the SAWPY and delegate assemblies, in the realization of this social task and to inform, in a regular way, the LCY Central Committee of the results.

Report on Interview With LCY's Krunic

AU111011 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 87 pp 1, 5

[Ljiljana Zorkic report on interview with Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, by unnamed BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and NOVOSTI 8 reporters; date and place not given; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] I would say that one expects from the LCY Conference more than the conference, as a form of work of the Central Committee, can objectively give. One should bear in mind that the conference is not a little congress, nor is it a body to replace the congress in the period between two congresses. It is a form of work for discussing individual significant and topical questions of LCY activity and for establishing stands and proposals that the LCY is obliged to examine and on that basis to take stands and make decisions and conclusions. However, we also must not underestimate the possibilities of such a form of work, particularly in a situation such as we are in now. Therefore, we in the LCY Presidium and the Central Committee have begun the preparations for the conference, which would have to express a critical assessment of the situation in the LC and in society and to contribute to directing the activity, above all, of the organs and as well as organizations and all members of the LC in realizing the decisions of the congress. One will discuss the strengthening of the leading ideopolitical role of the LC and its unity and responsibility in the struggle for solving the socioeconomic crisis. We shall hold a Central Committee session in January in preparation for the conference. What we shall do first will be to ensure a maximum commitment of organizations and organs, not in the sense of a general reexamination of the situation in the LC and in society, such as in the case of the well-known draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session, but in a functional way, along with a critical reexamination of the work since the 13th Congress and of its conclusions.

With this answer to the question on the forthcoming LCY Conference in the interview granted to BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI,and NOVOSTI 8, Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, opened one of the chapters of our current political and socioeconomic trends in which the LC, with its unity and leading role, has a special place and special tasks.

[Question] What is it that should be done before the conference opens?

[Krunic] Before the conference opens, one should establish its possible contribution. The contribution of the conference should be that the LC should stimulate even more intensively the process of strengthening its leading role and ideopolitical unity, create a more favorable climate for a more specific and creative commitment of every member, organization, and organ, and increase their action capability of more quickly solving the accumulated social and economic problems. Therefore, one must be oriented toward work, efficiency, and responsibility.

During the period before the conference, all LC organs and organizations should develop specific activity in resolutely changing the socioeconomic and political situation, in order to be able to come to the conference with the most specific possible results and more favorable economic and social situation. Therefore, the conference should stimulate and mobilize all LC members, organs, and organizations in overcoming big economic, social, and other problems and realizing the aims of social development.

[Question] In the speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Tito's accession to the head of the LCY, which you made at the session of the LCY Central Committee, you said that the LCY is experiencing a crisis. Does that primarily apply to the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and the republican and provincial leaderships, which are most frequently occupied with routine matters that are not appropriate for the present situation of crisis in society and do not open up any future prospects? How is one to return the role of visionaries to the LCY and its leaderships?

[Krunic] Your question includes an insufficiently correct interpretation of what I said at the festive session of the LCY Central Committee. I said then that even on this great jubilee we have no right to conceal the truth that we have been experiencing a crisis in the LC. It is possible to interpret this in a different way too, but I would not insist on a more precise definition now. Whatever we call it, it is a fact that the LC is not outside the time and space of social events. We who are in it are experiencing a crisis, particularly in implementing decisions and methods of work, as well as in realizing its role. This crisis of the LC is not of a conceptual nature, that is, a crisis from the standpoint of the definition of its role in society given in the program.

[Question] The question of how the LC is behaving and how it should be behaving in this crisis situation is very important.

[Krunic] One has to bear in mind that the LC is not a "peripheral" factor, an organization on a sidetrack that only follows what happens in society. The LC is in the same boat with all the other subjective forces. Therefore, the crisis has naturally embraced the LC, too. However, I feel that too much interference is expected of the LC, and I even think that this role is being increasingly "pushed" on it.

In my opinion, it is a fact that the LC leaderships do not cope well as regards the current events in society, or that they even cope badly, whether this concerns work stoppages or the manner of establishing and implementing some development policy tasks in local communities and so forth. I think that LC organs are not organized in the best possible way and are not prepared to implement the set tasks, especially under these aggravated development conditions. The dissatisfaction with its role realization emanates from this. This can be seen. We missed making some greater changes in the LC organization at the 13th LCY Congress. I think that we have insufficiently considered the demands of time and the need for a more suitable LC attitude toward this time, which has changed in many respects. Since the 11th LCY Congress, we have

been involved in small changes on the forms of organization, but we have not opened the way for more substantial changes either in the LC organs, or their organizations, or the LC's system in general.

Speaking of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, for instance, we have made a change in its title, so that it is not a political executive organ any longer. We wished to prevent it from being a political body alongside the Central Committee, but it is now defined as an executive political organ; however, in essence nothing substantial has changed. Considering its 30 members, including the executive secretaries who are in constant session, the Presidium has remained too inflexible for operative work and cannot best respond to its daily obligations.

[Question] The present Yugoslav political situation is marked by crisis as well as by ideological divisions, in which one feels an absence of ideological synthesis. This synthesis has also been absent on the movements in the LC in some republics and provinces as well as on Yugoslav matters in general. The major share of responsibility for this objectively falls on the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. How is the necessary accord reached?

[Krunic] I would first point out that the LCY has a clear ideological orientation defined by the 13th LCY Congress. On your question, I would somehow start from the end: I would first say that the crisis is now reflected more sharply than it was earlier, when it began. One must bear in mind that the differences in the development levels of the several regions in the country are great. They appear in the degree of economic power, in the level of the productivity of labor, in general urbanization, the level of education; which is to say they are very pronounced through the entire range. However, all these differences have been more or less sharply magnified by the crisis. This is something that we live with, it is a given. The views on relations in our country also change with such a different level of development, a reduction and impoverishment of accumulation, and a paralysis of some of the system's functions.

Synthesis More Difficult Than Earlier [subhead]

The tension is now greater than earlier. On the one hand, we have a rather emphasized thesis about the need for equality and solidarity in Yugoslavia, which along with the development of the crisis would mean a movement to equality in poverty, and on the other hand we know that solidarity has its limits—just as social endurance has its measure and limits—up to the level when the development of each sociopolitical community is seriously endangered. Let us add the fact that a considerable number of the employed and pensioners have a very difficult life, and despite all their understanding for the policy of remuneration according to work and support for remuneration of highly productive work, they cannot reconcile themselves with the social differences that are not a result of remuneration, but arise apart from work through various speculative and other impermissible acts. This then is blamed on politics, which is to say the organs. The differences in society now seem to be bigger than earlier.

It seems that the gaps in relations between the developed and the underdeveloped regions are unbridgeable, and that the republican and provincial divisions and antagonisms along this line are more pronounced than they used to be. It is certain that now, as before, these antagonisms have always depended on who controls the surplus value. The more one reduces the accumulation resources, the more difficult it becomes to overcome the differences in development and to implement the policy of responsibility for one's own development and for the development of the country in general. In other words, it is more difficult to harmonize interests of the parts with those of the whole.

It does not pay, of course, to be shocked about those facts, and one should not be, because that will not help us. That is reality. We have to take that into account. In order to be able to overcome the crisis, one should reach a high degree of understanding of everybody for everybody else, as well as a high degree of one's responsibility for the whole. This is why I think that when talking about the crisis and how to solve it, that is, how to ensure ideological synthesis, one has to take difficult circumstances into account. Therefore, we will find it more difficult to achieve synthesis than before.

Slogans are of no help here. The ever-growing difficulties in coordinating views have their realistic causes. For instance, if our losses are three to five times higher, then resistance is considerably greater when views should be coordinated on the taxation of income, on financing budgetary and other needs, etc.

Let me repeat, the objective situation which we have to take into account cannot be changed through slogans or pleas. Questions arise on whether in this way we can achieve a synthesis faster, how to invest decisions, not to say organs, with authority and how to cut the Gordian knot of this stagnant situation. It is now appropriate to recall that the largest Yugoslav reserves lie in work and responsibility. What would the warnings about our own forces and the reserves lying within and around ourselves otherwise mean?

As concerns the LC, I think that it must carefully turn to the Congress and comply with its documents. For, we have no other direction. It is impossible to find a way out of the crisis if we fail to comply firmly with the LC decisions. That which was defined at the Congress should now be implemented through decisions the Central Committee has made in a democratic way. This is why I insist on the obligations to the Congress, that is, on implementing the Congress' resolutions. That is the only way, first, to ensure the unity of the action and, second, to make responsibility and differentiation stricter, and to find the way out of the crisis faster.

We reached the Congress documents in a democratic way, through a broad and expert debate and activity at LC organs and basic organizations and the committee for the preparation of the Congress. The road was charted carefully and tasks were set for the further development. It is not mere repetition when one says that Congress resolutions should be implemented, nor is it obedience for obedience's sake; what is involved is the clear political orientation of the LC that this is the only way to do anything in society. The situation now is extremely complex. It is our responsibility to make processes of agreement go faster and along the line of the established policy and to have the agreements implemented consistently and efficiently.

[Question] It seems to us that the necessary coordination for starting the LC mechanism is lacking.

[Krunic] I think that leaderships seldom discuss things or, to be more precise, they are slow to connect and coordinate actions on overcoming any confrontation of views. There are too many entrenched stands, particular interests are championed too often, and one still deviates from what has been generally accepted and agreed upon. Therefore, there is the question of how the Central Committee can responsibly realize its role of implementing the LCY current policy consistently and completely. This should be done through a patient democratic debate, but also through resoluteness in implementing that which has been agreed upon.

The question of how the Central Committee will realize its role under existing circumstances is very complex, not only because the present situation is different and more complex than it was before, but also because new demands have been made in the development of democratic relations both in the party and society. What is involved, therefore, are new methods of work, changes, and adaptation to new conditions under which the leading role of the LC and its leaderships in society should be realized. One should insist that the LCY Central Committee is the place where LC responsibility for a comprehensive implementation of political directives, positions, decisions, and conclusions adopted at the congress is concentrated. Practice imposes on it, as on the highest organ between the congresses, the need for greater resolution and consistency in a democratic policy formation. Of course, one should not lose sight of the increasing responsibility borne by central and provincial committees for working out the LC policy and implementing the Central Committee decisions in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism.

Constitutional Changes Without Pressure and Imposition [subhead]

[Question] We are now before changes in the Constitution and everybody is interested in what will actually change.

[Krunic] Now that we have reached the end of the first stage of constitutional changes—I think that the Draft Amendments will be adopted in the SFRY Assembly—one should insist on democratic, tolerant, well-argued discussions, without any tutorship, without pressure, and without any form of imposing the will of the majority [majorizacija].

If we determined at the congress that the development of the political system will be based on the principles of the Constitution, it is understandable that the watershed for the validity of various proposals and criticisms in the discussions about constitutional changes must lie somewhere there. There must be a linkage of the principles and norms with the political system as a whole, and one cannot simply advocate new institutions, a different organization, and system instruments, without perceiving all the possible consequences. That is to say, life indeed has imposed changes in a number of issues, but one should work carefully, bearing in mind the constitutional concept as a whole and its consistency.

[Question] Hasn't excessive caution, even in the LC, objectively slowed down the changes that have been asked for since the 11th LCY Congress?

[Krunic] Certainly. Therefore dissatisfaction is piling up, and unacceptable ideas flourish. Let me say that in this connection one may be in favor of a different Yugoslavia. Freedom of will is always inviolable, but such an individual cannot be an LC member. One must know where the borderline is, and how the Communists should behave. If this approach is not taken, the discussions on constitutional changes will run uncontrolled.

It also happens in the press that nonsense headlines and articles are published for reasons of circulation, under the pretext of some sort of democracy. In fact, this is not democracy. There is no sense in imitating democracy that is inherent to the multiparty system. In a society organized under self-management, democracy is manifested in a pluralism of a different kind.

If we want to preserve Yugoslavia as it is now, with well-known foundations and system, the constitutional changes should run within these limits. We are not entering the changes to reshape the principles, but to eliminate bottlenecks in implementing these constitutional principles.

[Question] But other important changes are missing because of the slowness in constitutional changes.

[Krunic] This is true, too, especially regarding changes in the economic system and in the functioning of the federation, above all.

In connection with the discussions about the constitutional changes and the changes in the economic system, there has been much ambiguity over the question whether we are opening toward a new system or a

different Yugoslavia, and there has been indignation because we are allegedly selling off socialism for the sake of foreign investment and small businesses, or there have been insufficiently moderate and well thought-out proposals that the economy should develop as a separate process, completely free from the state and social directing and planning. Again we have been entertained by some "laissez-faire school."

We will clear up many of these questions in the Central Committee in January, so that we may influence the direction of the public discussions on constitutional changes. We purposely, did not want to discuss this in the Central Committee before the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber adopted the Draft Amendments, so that we would not prejudice the decisions, but the LCY Central Committee will provide answers on the precepts of the congress and the channeling, direction, and course of the discussion. Of course I have in mind involving the LCY members in these discussions.

You as well as the Yugoslav public at large were interested in everything that was connected with the 11th LCY Central Committee session, not only the economic development. In this latter respect you even failed somewhat. You were least interested in it. There was some more interest in how we prepare the conference, and most about Fadilj Hodza's responsibility in connection with the implementation of Point 18 of the Conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee session, Krunic said replying to a question about determining responsibility in the LC.

Responsibility Must Be Recognizable [subhead]

I would first proceed from the fact that the responsibility of Fadilj Hodza and a number of the most responsible people in Kosovo was established as linked with the counterrevolutionary events in 1981, or rather their actions or absence of actions before and after those events. Their direct and objective responsibility for the course of events in Kosovo is undisputable.

When the responsibility of a Communist is at stake, then there is not much deliberation involved. What in my opinion should be the subject of our discussions, and if you like of the examination of the responsibility of a Communist, an LCY member, organ, or organization, is work in the sense of implementing specific tasks and general precepts of the LCY. This means that everybody should be assessed as to how he works, and how he has worked as a member of the organization or organ whose statute, as well as the norms and rules of behavior, he has accepted. Work and results should be the yardstick of everybody's responsibility here, too. I think that the demand that work should be done conscientiously and honestly and that tasks be implemented has now been particularly manifested. The criterion is not what we say but what we do, and how close we are to the true interests of working people, their demands, and warnings.

I believe that responsibility must always be individual, and in order that responsibility may be individual, the role of not only of a man but also of the organ to which he belongs must be defined. Collective responsibility proceeds from this. There can be no collective responsibility unless it is deducted as the clearly defined responsibility of individuals, which is to say members of a collective body. In order that this responsibility may be affirmed, it must be recognizable, above all from the viewpoint of a conscious decision and action. Because of an absence of responsibility understood in this way, criticism which is twisted, base, and sometimes marginal in its content, calling of names, and even calling innocent people to account now appear under conditions of crisis and social dissatisfaction.

Invoking Idyllic Unity [subhead]

Through intensifying social responsibility, a large number of people in one way or another were subjected to sharp criticism and replaced from certain positions in which they were not satisfactory. I am not in favor of our dropping the subject of responsibility for yesterday's events, responsibility of individuals and organs for their failures. This is necessary; above all so that we would not commit some sins today and tomorrow. However, the insistence on responsibility for the past must not detract from the strategic questions of today, particularly since the situation is different now. Now the responsibility for investments, for economic development, and so forth is discussed in a different way in the LCY Central Committee and all the leaderships, down to the republican, provincial, and communal organs. Therefore, I think that we cannot indulge in an incessant calling of names in connection with what has been, but must pay more attention to what is today and what will be tomorrow.

[Question] Democratic centralism has been mentioned recently, but only in connection with different opinions when they are the so-called minority opinions. This principle is hardly mentioned in connection with more important questions. What do you think about this?

[Krunic] One exaggerates in expecting a kind of unity that would be monolithic, pure, idealistically conceived, etc. I think that the road to unity leads through differences. This is also an essential characteristic of our political life and of relations in our society, particularly relations in the federation, so the LC must comply with it. Therefore, this is the essence of democratic relations which implies tolerance, seeking of accord, respecting interests, etc. This is why I think that political life must be freed from pressures and, I should also say, from demands for an idealized unity from olden days.

Unity cannot follow certain orthodox views or the slogan: The one who does not think the same as I do or, even better, as we do, must be punished, for he is on the other side.

One should simply develop democratic centralism in the direction of protecting minority opinion from defamations, something which is in the interest of democratic relations in the LC and in society. I am saying this because I bear in mind some unhealthy tendencies on the public scene and the misunderstandings on the LCY Central Committee session in connection with establishing Fadilj Hodza's responsibility. Some differing opinions have been given too much publicity, and in that context, there was lecturing on what one should have done at the session. The essence, however, lies in the question of whether or not the Central Committee adopted the conclusions unanimously; which it did (with two votes against).

It is no good to impute to people who had a different opinion that they supported Fadilj Hodza and even irredentists themselves, because that simply is not true. What is important is that the Central Committee was unanimous, and I am saying this not for the sake of "keeping peace in the family," but for the sake of defending democratic relations in the LC: if there are no democratic relations in the LC, there will be none in society either. Finally, those are our statutory norms and our rules of the game that we have added to at each congress with a view to strengthening the democratic spirit.

Let me put things in a simpler way. What kind of democracy is it if we persecute people because they had different opinions during our discussions and consultations. That is not good. This does not apply only to the 11th session and that which followed. I am saying this because society allowed the spreading of a "climate of persecution" which has a very harmful impact, particularly on democratic relations. We in the LC should go on defending and definitely defend the democratic climate and the LCY Statute on all occasions. We are facing phenomena that show lack of good political taste and are discriminatory. The public media would have to oppose any behavior which would pull us backward in this respect.

[Question] How is one in this crisis to prevent the LC from succumbing to the intensifying temptation to strengthen its position as a "state party"?

[Krunic] It is necessary to oppose such desires, even offers to the LC that it should cut off problems, take things into its hands, and thus turn itself into a party in power or state party, or one can say the party of the state—it all boils down to the same thing. All these things are very much on much offer. One sometimes wants to call back "the good old times."

One must ask what we gain from illusions and whether or not everything was so idyllic in the past. And that is not true. Yugoslavia was not happy when the system was centralized, it was neither monolithic nor were all decisions accepted with enthusiasm. Now, observed from a distance, all that seems to have been ideal, especially when the situation in society is bad and one would like to change it by returning to centralism, to the party in power.

[Question] Many people seem to forget that this is contrary to all our precepts and to the LCY Program.

[Krunic] Even since the Sixth LCY Congress, it is a perpetual problem how to resist these movements, starting with the definition of the directing role of the LC, from the Central Committee to the LC organizations, and how the temptations of this kind must be resisted. One cannot say that the LC role has not changed since then, but requests for LC intervention [arbitriranje] which are not inherent to the socialist self-management system are constantly recurring through social development.

Of course, a multiparty system is not an alternative to our self-managing system; it cannot be an alternative. But our system demands constant refreshment and enrichment of practice and self-organization of people for the purpose of spreading and deepening democratic relations, and this is the right direction. Along this line, the leading role of the Party, its responsibility, and ideological direction can be demonstrated.

LC Is Not an Advocate, but a Fighting Organization [subhead]

When one speaks about the LC role today and about its unity, one should say that the LC is not an advocate of either general federal interests or of republican and provincial interests.

Unity should first be proven through the responsibility for a democratic procedure, a free expression of the pluralism of interests, and consideration for differences in a specific situation. There can be no unity unless it is democratically worked out, and therefore unitarianism and centralism, which are offered as an alternative, are fatal for such a situation as we have at present and for future relations in the LC. On the other hand, we cannot expect anything good from separatism, disintegration, and federalization in the LC.

Ultimately, although there is some basis for the suspicion nourished by our divisions and schisms, we must not abandon the idea of Yugoslavism, and we must elaborate the foundations of the unified Yugoslav self-managing community, set up on a federal principle, based on equality of peoples and nationalities. These are not some general foggy principles, they are something that life is confirming and has confirmed.

Likewise, it is not opportune to divide the LC and the leaderships, or the country, according to some scheme of our differences, which has been particularly "fashionable" recently even in some media and in discussions, along the developed-underdeveloped, north-south, or

northwest-southeast lines, or even between the dogmatic and the reformist blocs, or along the "Comintern" or "Byzantine" lines, and so forth. This has often been the product of petit bourgeois idleness or other divisions that have never done us any good. Differences constantly follow us. The problem is that we have not been overcoming them effectively, particularly lately, and not that they are imposed and inevitable "in the nature of things."

How Much Do International Activities Cost [subhead]

[Question] Reproaches of the leaderships of the country have been heard recently because of frequent trips abroad. What can you tell us about LC international activities, visits and trips of delegations, how frequent they are and how much do they cost?

[Krunic] Recently, at a Presidium session in December, we discussed the visits of our delegations abroad. I say at once that we perceived our own omissions in that the LCY Central Committee international cooperation programs, and probably the programs of other organizations, too, have not been sufficiently publicized. They should be a subject of discussion and explanation, and reports from these trips should be made public through press conferences and in other ways. This means a normal contact with the public.

This also implies that journalists should have a better feel and should be more considerate in articles about other countries, and international relations and foreign policy of our country, which does not exclude the right and obligation to have a critical attitude toward these problems.

Of course, there is a crisis in the country and every visit is unpopular. People get fed up and they say: Enough; how much do you spend on trips? Therefore the question arises here: Is it sufficient to report on trips by our delegations, or should one at the same time also publish articles on cooperation with certain countries, parties, and movements, the significance of these links, and so forth. Anyhow, our official travels do not cost much. As president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, I received $150 for an 8-day visit to three countries in southern Africa. I was a guest, and I am not sure that this 10 percent per diem deserves so much attention.

There is some sense of talking about costs, but some costs cannot be avoided. However, we are careful about all expenditure. Indeed we do our best to make it as economical as possible and to spend less; we have thinned out our contacts and regular links. We shall virtually halve them in the organs of the federation next year. Because of the difficult situation in the country, some diplomatic missions are to be abolished, and we will economize along other lines, too. Of course, none of this must endanger our active foreign policy. I believe that we shall get used to saving, and this will come in handy even when we no longer are in a crisis.

[The following passages are boxed within the body of the interview]

About Referendum [subhead]

[Question] How do you regard the idea of constitutional changes through a referendum?

[Krunic] I think that some advocacy of a referendum in connection with the constitutional changes are rather imprudent. One does not pay any account to the questions on which a referendum should be held, why it should be held, and what the consequences would be.

It is one thing to have a referendum on levies or common spending, and so forth, and it is quite another thing to have a referendum on whether we want six republics or less, and whether we want 20 amendments or 30. All right, I am exaggerating, but these things are being taken to ridiculous lengths. A referendum is the most democratic form for expressing the will of the people and it has its applications, but one must take into account where it is possible and where it may become counterproductive.

To Prove by Work and not by Sharpening Pencils [subhead]

In my opinion, the basic thing everywhere, throughout the LCY, is to make a turn oneself, so that until the conference, one proves oneself through work and results, and not through sharpening pencils for debates and accusations in endless criticism of those "above" or those "below" or those on the other side of the fence, especially in other republics and provinces. Warnings about forum-like work are serious, and a feeling for the pulse of the working people is lacking.

Critics [subhead]

I notice another kind of retrospective critic of responsibility. They are individuals, people who are no longer in office, no longer have the role they used to have, nor enjoy the privileges they used to enjoy, and now are radical critics. They forget that they themselves have been not all that successful creators of the development policy and beneficiaries of small and large privileges precisely in the times they now criticize. This is also felt among literary and scientific figures. How many lectures some comrades held, how many articles and books they wrote to the greater glory of the 1974 Constitution, and now they are striving for glory attacking this same Constitution.

Calculator Shows Differences [subhead]

As regards unity, we more or less always possess it at a high level generally, be it on a congress resolution, or the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. And when we reach any of these documents, we see that they have always agreed on at a general level. When you get down to brass tacks, when you take a calculator in your hand, and you start to calculate, the differences begin to appear and

various shades, various interests come to the surface, and of course, it becomes more and more difficult to implement what has been agreed upon, and unity is lacking....

Democratic Public, Media, and Subjection [subhead]

It is true that public media have broken the barriers that have fenced them in, enhanced social control, and made a great contribution to the democratization of relation in society. Of course the media, like the LC, succumb to side blows from nationalism and citizen-bourgeois [gradjansko-burzuazski] views. One can see well how many "disobedient" ones there are, but I would particularly score the occurrence of subjection to power centers in the public media. The greatest concentration of such caving in is in the republics and provinces, which is not an accident, for the founders of the largest number of influential media are concentrated there. Therefore when we speak about the occurrences of political disqualification of journalists because of professional errors and omissions we should also look at this other side, the background to criticism. Although we often talk about the need to strengthen the independence and responsibility of journalists and public media, I think that we are not always on the right track regarding the independence that is necessary. Public media should also not support an independence that it dislocated from the system. One should not strive for that kind of independence that would make it possible for them to be a power outside the system. Independence has sense to the extent that it serves the overall democratic development of society, the development of self-management.

Paper Talks to Special Unit in Kosovo

AU131541 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec-3 Jan 88 p 6

[Prvoljub Pejatovic and Emina Ciric report: "There is a Tool for Every Job"]

[Text] By the SFRY Presidency decision at the end of October, a combined unit of the militia of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs was dispatched to Kosovo, as the Presidency considered that there was a danger that the situation in Kosovo would worsen even further and seriously threaten security. By Article 8 of the Law on the Bases of the System of State Security, it was demanded that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs send its unit.

We do not know:

What has this unit been doing for the last 2 months? How much intervention has there been? What sort? Where? Until now, nothing has been said to the public. Only one tactical (non)answer from Azem Vlasi at a press conference:

"How many have been sent to Kosovo?"

"As many as is needed to provide security at a football match."

So many. We would like to know all the facts about the unit....

"Is there anything that cannot be written about?"

"Definitely."

"Something about interventions....provocations....not to mention the peasant who brought apples to the camp...."

"There has not been one intervention during these last two months! No provocation either! Not one peasant brought apples...."

At the beginning, our pleasant hosts and interviewees were Jovan Vuckovic, unit commander, Mitar Knezevic, commander of the brigade of militia of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, Momo Debeljkovic, assistant to the commander, and Marko Tadic, the commissar [komesar]. Later on in the camp we met Mirceta Stoev, Sabahudin Muric, Perica Stankovic, Zlatko Cordic, Nenad Tepavac, Slobodan Dimitrijevic (we brought him some chocolate from his family in Belgrade; his nickname is Bonecrusher), Nezir Mazrekaj, Josip Erceg, Edin Habibic, and Miomir Bubanj....

"Could we ask where we are? Where is the unit stationed?"

"The Heroji Kosova Center for the training and recreation of youth and pioneers, near Pristina."

"If it is not a secret: How many of you are there?"

"300. Exactly"

"Arms? Equipment?"

"Special, of mainly Yugoslav manufacture."

"Anything more specific?"

"There is a tool for every job"

"How much does it cost to keep the unit here?"

"About the same as when it is not here. There are some differences, but these are not great. They do not cause any concern...."

"The basic task?"

"Above all, preventive. We are here as help. With our personnel, equipment, and arms, we are completely ready to carry out our assignment. Fortunately, there has been no assignment. But we are strong enough if need be. The security situation is now significantly more favorable than in 1981 or 1982. You remember that we had casualties then. Three militiamen died from our unit and one from the provincial unit."

"What do you do when there is no assignment?"

"Regular training, rest, everyday activities. The same as in Belgrade, only it is significantly different here. This is an exceptional situation. Special militiamen are human beings too. Professionals, but human. They are family men, but separated from their homes. Their children also go to school, get sick. The price of the profession...."

"Cooperation?"

"We constantly meet with our provincial colleagues, with members of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, special militiamen, and members of territorial defense. There is cooperation with the Army, and also with our neighbors: the local communes of Pristina, Ajvalija, Caglavica, Gracanica, Laplje Selo....

"How long are you staying?"

"Until a decision on our return is made."

Brunch, then we continued:

"What was written about us receiving our September personal incomes on time while the FEC and all other federal bodies received theirs later, is not the truth: We were also paid on the 6th, instead of on the 1st of October."

We continue... about everything, but there was neither shooting nor blood.

"There was none," the hosts want to say, "but there was also...."

There were both rifles and pistols, if you are interested, in a shooting contest. There was also chess (the Swiss system), mini-football (we came in second out of 16 teams), and table tennis with local youngsters. There was also blood, because of a recent traffic accident near Glogovac. They immediately asked: What do you need? Blood, they were told. And they went and gave it.

("Do not leave out: The response of students from Pristina was excellent. An accident is an accident. There could have been one of your family there")

....The people from the unit mentioned at the beginning told us they could not find Milisav Radic: He went off somewhere, they said, and is cramming for his part 2 mathematics. Blagojce Petrov is doing his Yugoslav literature. Someone else, what's his name, went off and graduated from the music academy. The oboe department. He is teaching, probably in Smederevo....

Many of those here study. Either an advanced course...or college. As well as working. Mostly it is of little use: What then once they have graduated? Where to then? There are more graduates than jobs requiring a graduate....

....They say: Everything is the same as in Belgrade, only it is completely different.

It is also different from 1981:

"Three hundred of us slept in a sports hall. Twenty or so days under canvas. That is a wartime existence. This now is another Kosovo. If it lasts there will be more work for the politicians than for us...."

To end:

Happy new year, to our special militia comrades. We wish you success in your job, but above all: we wish that you have nothing to do while you are there.

Paracin Barracks Trial Adjourns

LD122219 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Nis, Eastern Yugoslavia, January 12 (TANJUG)—The trial of eight soldiers accused of complicity in the massacre committed in the barracks of Paracin, a town close to Nis, last September continued here today. At that time, soldier Aziz Kelmendi, 20, an ethnic Albanian, killed for hostile motives four fellow soldiers and wounded another five, all in their sleep in the Paracin barracks.

The massacre committed, Aziz Kelmendi fled the barracks that critical night and killed himself. Before joining the army, Kelmendi was in prison for his attempted escape to Albania, but the military athorities were not in the know of it at the time of his crime.

The crime committed in the Paracin barracks was prepared beforehand and all those taking part in it had clear tasks, it was established before the military tribunal here today on their trial's 2d day.

Today's hearings uncovered new details at the roots of the Paracin barracks crime. The so-far depositions and interrogations of the charged soldiers, accomplices in the massacre, namely Rizah Xhakli (1967), Abdil Xhemil Alamani (1968), Afrim Memeti (1968), Pajazit Aliu (1966), Shefqet Paqarazi (1965), Enver Beluli (1967), Rizah Albishiq (1967) and Islam Mamuti (1967), all of them ethnic Albanians, confirmed that hatred (?and) chauvinist blindness of Aziz Kelmendi, the killer, towards soldiers of other nationalities were crucial in having Aziz Kelmendi pull his finger on the trigger of his automatic rifle.

Aziz Kelmendi did not hate only Safet Dudakovic and Milorad Vukovic, the two soldiers with whom he had come into conflict before and both of whom he killed, but he also hated all soldiers who were not ethnic Albanians, defendant Afrim Memeti told the court today.

Kelmendi asked from other ethnic Albanian soldiers not to keep company with other soldiers who are not ethnic Albanians and not to obey orders, defendant Pajazit Aliu said.

Today, all the soldiers given hearings tried to dispute their complicity or to misrepresent it as if they had been compelled by Aziz Kelmendi to do so or as if they had played roles of minor importance. Their changed depositions and new explanations were immediately refuted, however.

The trial of the accomplices was adjourned.

Army Criticizes Slovene Youth Paper
AU121745 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No. 2529 31 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "MLADINA Has Overdone It This Time"]

[Text] A well-intentioned reader with clear patriotic feelings could be shocked by the front page of MLADINA (the newspaper of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia) No. 43 of 18 December: A technically impeccable drawing shows the cruel, but skilled, hands of an officer screwing a helmet onto the head of an unfortunate soldier! Judging by the uniform and other symbols (if we have understood them correctly), the drawing has an allegorical meaning. Considering MLADINA's well-known views regarding the defense of our country, the Armed Forces, and particularly the Yugoslav People's Army, and the text carried in the above-mentioned edition of the youth weekly, one can assume that the front page is primarily alluding to our Army.

A question "Why I Have Left the Yugoslav People's Army" underneath the table of contents on page 3 refers to page 16, to an equally frightening page banner: "Death to people, freedom ...." (banner), "Striptease of Death???" (title), and the subtitle "Everything we ought to know about a military career."

Let us immediately say that what is hidden underneath this "cloak" will not arouse Slovene's youth wish to enroll in large numbers at military academies and other military schools. On the contrary, everything that was said in that text will provoke opposite feelings, that is to say hostility and even repugnance toward the Army officers' profession.

In fact, this seems to have been the purpose of the author of this article, chief editor, and the MLADINA editorial team.

MLADINA has made this and similar moves at the time when a new advertisment is being made inviting young people to enroll at intermediate and higher military schools, at the time when not only the Yugoslav People's Army, but also various social circles, including those in the SR of Slovenia, are making considerable efforts to overcome difficulties and solve at least some problems on enrolling young people at military schools, problems which, as is already known, are the most acute when it comes to young people of the Slovene nationality.

But what an irony! The author of the "Striptease of Death" has set himself an ambitious task—to provide a complete and convincing answer in a relatively small newspaper space to the following question: Why is the profession of an officer in our Army inadequately popular among Slovene youth? In addition to this he also discusses things that are awaiting a military school student if he decides to leave the school of his own will (According to MLADINA this is the bottom of the Hell).

What the author of the text and the MLADINA editors want to say to their readers they are saying in a skillful, but obvious way. All the arguments used, and particularly the way they are presented to the reader, are aimed in one direction, toward creating an antipathy toward the Yugoslav People's Army, particularly its officer cadre.

But let us pay attention to some statements and conclusions made in the above-mentioned text.

"...The military machinery is investing huge sums of money...." in propaganda, in "recruiting" young people from military schools. So, the "military machinery" is "recruiting" young people from military schools and in that process is spending money mercilessly or wastefully. This is what MLADINA claims.

Then: "The Yugoslav People's Army bears all educational expenses in military schools under the condition that future officers hand over their fate to the hands of special totalitarian-centralist institutions." In other words, if one wants to attend a military school, the Army will pay for all education expenses but, as MLADINA writes, the totalitarian-centralist institution will in return take one's body and soul! Completely! In other words one does not exist as an individual anymore.

Furthermore: If an officer leaves the army of his own will without fulfilling certain conditions, then he would be "together with his family thrown out of his accommodation and would lose all other privileges." According to the author of the "Striptease of Death" this means that in our Army there is no mercy and humanitarianism has withered away.

Furthermore: and so forth.

Finally: At the end of this text full of irony, mockery, and cynicism there is the conclusion that military school cadets who come from Slovenia and Croatia "must complete their education" because there are not enough young people from these republics willing to take up a military career.

Insulting?

But, and this is typical of the text, the conclusion is more arrogant: The education of these officers from Slovenia and Croatia and their "expertise" is "minimal," and the soldiers have felt it on their own skin because, since the officers are "without a great deal of brain," and in the training process officers mainly rely on their only reliable "argument," on "force." And, as MLADINA claims, there is not much distance between this and the Keljmendi case.

This is the crudest, the most impudent charge and insult addressed at the officers of the Slovene and Croatian nationality.

It is quite clear to us with what purpose the text "Striptease of Death" has been written. This text is only one in a series of texts very critical of the Army that appeared in this paper in the last 3 years. This text represents yet more proof that this is a matter of continuous and well-devised activities aimed at destroying the essence of the Yugoslav People's Army, its moral strength, and its combat ability in general. It has been stressed several times from the highest platforms of the state and party gatherings that these socially unacceptable attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army represent a large hindrance to our society and its defense.

Unfortunately, MLADINA editors and their advisers and supporters do not care much about it. On the contrary, they are persistently advocating their vision of defense and the Yugoslav People's Army's role in it. Therefore the "Striptease of Death" is not a surprise.

MLADINA has overdone it this time.

It is high time to stop this public piracy.

TU Council Reports on Work Stoppages

LD112158 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—A total of 239 work stoppages was registered in Bosnia-Hercegovina last year, in which 46,000 workers took part. The growing number of work stoppages and workers taking part, as well as the amount of lost working hours indicate that work stoppages may become more widespread with considerable effects on the political and security situation in some enviroments. This was said today at a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Trade Union Council Presidium, which met to discuss a report about work stoppages and the trade union organization's activities.

According to the report, the overall duration of work stoppages last year was 6,000 hours, with about 1.7 million working hours lost. [passage omitted]

VJESNIK Comments on Coming Gorbachev Visit

AU131830 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 88 p 3

[Zeljko Brihta commentary: "Our Man in Belgrade"—words in boldface as published]

[Text] Turning the USSR upside down, disturbing the Soviet allies, whether they showed it or not, and making the best impression in the United States where he became Man of the Year, Mikhail Gorbachev finally decided to do something that he could not manage to do earlier, but that will do no harm, rather the opposite. Having got acquainted with his chief allies and his chief enemy on their home ground, the leader of the Soviet party will come to our country where we are not his enemies, although we are not (formal) allies; which does not mean that we are not favorably inclined toward him, but rather the opposite. The best friends are those that are not forced to be friends.

So Gorbachev is coming to Yugoslavia and this is good for both sides or countries (or parties, if you bear in mind what Gorbachev is, above all). It is good for Gorbachev and it is also good for Yugoslavia. Gorbachev may learn something in Yugoslavia; one can learn both from what is good and what is bad, which means that one can learn constantly and again and again in socialism, if only one wants to; and Gorbachev does want to learn. Yugoslavia, or those in Yugoslavia, may also learn something from Gorbachev, although in this case this is not the only good thing, for the simple reason that it is not yet certain whether this opportunity will be used.

It is even better—because it is more certain—that Gorbachev is coming for the following reason: It is a long time since we had a Man of the Year, even if only a borrowed one, for 2 or 3 days in our country. While omnipotent party secretaries in Soviet enterprises were still able to send workers to gulags, and did so, some observers remember that workers councils were already, to a great extent, managing Yugoslav enterprises, not to say associated labor organizations. At a time when there was no inkling yet in the Soviet Union that society will begin to "open up" and "restructure," while "glasnost" and "perestroyka" were not even words there, let alone ideas, it is remembered that Yugoslavia began to talk and write about things and occurrences that not so long ago were, let us say, "taboo": Yugo-glasnost.

It must be admitted that in this way Yugoslavia was much "ahead" of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union as it was when there was no Gorbachev there yet, but there was, for instance, Brezhnev, not to mention Stalin. Although Yugoslavia "made up" with the Soviet Union—and this, too, should not be forgotten—and the Soviet Union with Yugoslavia, when Gorbachev was named Khrushchev, which is to say with the 1955 Belgrade declaration, this was not yet "it." Indeed, the

relations between the countries improved, and again deteriorated, and so on, but Yugoslavia as a country led the way at that time. It was even believed that it could be an example to others.

It can be seen today that Yugoslavia is not an example, although this is perhaps not as bad as it may appear at first sight; it is perhaps even better that it is not an example, because the big ones do not like the little ones to be examples and thus disturb children in their own backyard. In addition, matters are very different now in many aspects. Now, as some foreign newspapers say, "dynamic Gorbachev has begun to overtake the static self-managing socialism" of Yugoslavia and therefore Yugoslavia is not "dangerous" from that angle, either. Gorbachev also is not the kind who would expect or even demand that other socialist countries should be like his; everyone in his own way, for better or worse.

It is thus quite clear that the Soviet Union is still of the same opinion as it was at the time when it said that Yugoslavia has the right to go its own way (whether it leads forward or backward). It now has even less reason to think differently; and Yugoslavia, too, has even less reason to think anything bad about Gorbachev; on the contrary. If it is now "the first time that a Soviet leader may be considered an inspiration for a better life in the six countries that must follow the Soviet lead" (THE NEW YORK TIMES), if he is at the moment "the best hope" for socialism, then he is "our man," too, if he wants to be.

As examples show and history, and particularly the present teach, socialism can somehow maintain itself and then develop and advance—if at all—only if it gets rid of all the doctrines and dogmas, those inside and outside, those in between and those in general. Otherwise nothing will help.

Application to Olympics Delayed in Mails

AU131630 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 88 p 2

[From the "Letters and Answers" page: "We are Going to Seoul"]

[Text] The Seoul Olympic Games are approaching. I recently read that 135 countries have already entered. Yugoslavia was not among them. What does this mean: Is it a question of economic, political, or some other reasons?

[signed] Aleksandar Cvitanovic, technician from Bar.

We applied verbally as early as July last year to Juan Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee. The closing date for applications to Seoul is 15 January. We have never boycotted the Olympic Games. That means that it is not a question of political reasons. We also have funds available for the participation of our Olympic team. In a word: It is a question of a postal delay, some technical hitch. To reiterate, Yugoslavia will participate in Seoul as it has done in all Olympic Games since the war. The official application will arrive at the Games' organizational committee in Seoul.

[signed] Dr Ivan Mecanovic, president of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee.

Commentary on Sino-Soviet Relations

AU122041 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission, has clearly said under what conditions the summit between China and the USSR could take place. This was stated by a Chinese Foreign Ministry official. He mentioned that Deng Xiaoping has expressed the wish to meet with Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, on several occasions, but only under the condition that Moscow exert its influence on Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. This was the first official reaction from Beijing on Gorbachev's proposal for a Sino-Soviet summit that he made in an interview carried by the leading Chinese weekly LIAOWANG yesterday. Here is Milorad Denda's commentary:

The reaction from Beijing is not a surprise. But it does reduce the importance the publication of Gorbachev's interview in a Chinese magazine has for the further development of Sino-Soviet relations. The Chinese reaction to Gorbachev's invitation for a Sino-Soviet summit is in accordance with the already known preconditions of Beijing for the full normalization of relations between the two big socialist neighbors. In other words, Beijing sees a future Sino-Soviet summit as a crown to the normalization of relations rather than a possible prelude to the normalization.

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has proposed a summit to Gorbachev on several occasions; last time it was about 2 months ago before the USSR-US summit in Washington, under the condition, of course, that Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia. The time chosen to make this offer was interpreted as a warning to the big powers to, in addition to disarmament in Europe, include in their global preoccupation the solving of regional clashes in which China is directly interested, particularly those in Asia.

In his interview to the Chinese weekly LIAOWANG, Gorbachev did not mention problems and regional clashes that the Chinese insist are the obstacle to the normalization of relations. Analysts have, however, noticed that Gorbachev's assessment that in international relations one must seek the balance of interests, and that the two superpowers do not have to solve everything on East-West relations could be interpreted as an indirect offer to China to enter the triangle of the big powers through the normalization of relations with the USSR.

There is no doubt that Gorbachev's views will be analyzed carefully in Beijing. In their assessment of Gorbachev's views, the Chinese will certainly not bypass the fact that one can speak about a more favorable international climate following the summit in Washington and that yesterday Moscow indicated for the first time that it is willing to solve the crisis in Afghanistan. But one can assume with a great deal of certainty that in the Chinese assessment of how favorable the international climate is, the extent to which the causes of regional crises have been removed and resolved will play an important role. This particularly refers to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia. The pace of the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will therefore depend on the pace with which these problems are resolved. But the sheer fact that the interview of a Soviet leader has appeared in a Chinese magazine for the first time after almost 3 decades contributes enough to the creation of a more favorable climate on the road to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

Chad's Imprisonment of SFRY National Decried

LD131412 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0205 GMT 13 Jan 88

[By Dejan Vasiljevic, TANJUG'S diplomatic editor]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 13 (TANJUG)—The fate of Yugoslav Rade Zelenovic (58), who, although completely innocent, has been imprisoned in the Chadian capital of Ndjamena for over four months now, still remains uncertain.

One thing is however certain: Rade Zelenovic is seriously ill, diagnosed as suffering from angina pectoris and weighing 25 kilograms less than before his unusual captivity began. Hence the justified fears that any further postponement on the part of the Chadian authorities in releasing Zelenovic could have a fatal outcome.

Zelenovic, an electro-mechanic in a West German firm, was seized on September 5, 1987 on Libyan territory and taken to Ndjamena. His boss, West German Gernot Wauer was also taken captive. Chad released Wauer after 47 days. The act showed that Chad's at first pronounced suspicions that Wauer and Zelenovic were engaged in activities on behalf of the Libyan intelligence service were out of the question.

Wauer's release was helpful to the Yugoslav Secretariat of Foreign Affairs in its persistent efforts: The Chadian authorities announced that the whole case was now easier and that Rade Zelenovic could be released shortly. However, the situation has not changed since then, except for Zelenovic's continuously deteriorating health.

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat continues categorically and persistently to take action from the top level, demanding that Chad immediately, on behalf of humanitarian reasons and the friendly relations between the two countries, do the only right thing and release Zelenovic.

With this aim, Vinko Cosic, Yugoslav ambassador to Lagos also accredited to Chad, twice visited Ndjamena. He met with Chadian Foreign Minister Gouara Lassou who promised before the New Year that, even though it was not in its competence, the Foreign Ministry would help by immediately repeating to President Hissein Habre all of Yugoslavia's requests (including five official notes) and would propose Zelenovic's release. The Yugoslav side would be informed of everything, he added. But to date no information has been received.

Pointing out that the Yugoslav worker was never interested in politics and was in Libya only our of economic reasons, TANJUG's diplomatic editor writes that the Yugoslav public not only does not understand why and with what right Ndjamena is trifling with the life of an innocent man, but is expressing astonishment and concern over such nonchalant behaviour.

The public in many other countries has also been taken aback by the act. Through its United Nations mission in New York, Yugoslavia has asked for cooperation from the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Zaire in securing Zelenovic's release. All have, individually, taken an active part and continue to pursue the matter with authorities in Ndjamena, but obviously without results.

Moreover, the Yugoslav ambassador had to supply Zelenovic with the medicines he needs as they were not provided in the prison. Many questions thus still remain unanswered.

Delegation Returns From Paris Club Meeting

LD130352 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2036 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, January 12 (TANJUG)—The presidency of the group for consolidating Yugoslavia's debt (Paris Club) and a Yugoslav delegation assessed at yesterday's and today's informal talks that a reprogramming of the Yugoslav debt was necessary.

The Yugoslav delegation, headed by Federal Finance Secretary Svetozar Rikanovic, returned from Paris this evening. While in Paris, the delegation informed the Paris Club presidency of Yugoslavia's program for consolidating its foreign debt.

The Paris Club is made up of 15 developed Western countries and Kuwait, Yugoslavia's greatest creditors.

The delegation underscored that the program includes a reprogramming of the debt, creating conditions for developing the Yugoslav economy and a minimum external solvency.

The Paris Club presidency agreed that Yugoslavia's foreign debt needed to be reprogrammed, but underscored that the deadlines and types of credit for the reprogramming, which Yugoslavia expects, differ from the group's practice to date.

It was assessed that the arguments used to explain Yugoslavia's program for consolidating its debt would be used in great measure in further preparations for official talks between Yugoslavia and all 16 creditor countries.

The decision on reprogramming Yugoslavia's debt to the Paris Club, is expected to be taken soon after Yugoslavia reaches agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Between 1981 and 1986, Yugoslavia repaid 23 billion 550 million dollars in debt principal and interests, more than its total debt of 19 billion dollars.

Yugoslavia's annual debt obligations stood at between four and five billion dollars and accounted for 40 percent of its foreign earnings instead of the customary 25 percent.

This slowed down the country's economic development and endangered large-scale export deals, through which foriegn currency is secured to pay the foreign debt.

Yugoslavia would have to pay 76 percent of its total medium-and long-term debts over the next five years. The medium- and long-term debt account for 90 percent of the country's total foreign debt.

Regular payments of the principal falling due and interests would take over half the country's foriegn earnings under the present conditions of repayment.

Krunic Receives CPI's Napolitano

AU121708 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received Giorgio Napolitano, member of the Secretariat of the PCI Central Committee, and Giorgio Rossetti, representative of the PCI in the European Parliament.

Krunic briefed the guests from Italy about the main characteristics of the socioeconomic situation in Yugoslavia and the direction of the LCY activities in implementing the 13th LCY Congress resolutions.

They also discussed cooperation between the LCY and the PCI, which was mutually assessed as an important factor in the total good-neighborly relations between Yugoslavia and Italy.

In a separate talk Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Georgio Napolitano exchanged views about the international situation.

Italian Foreign Ministry Official Pays Visit

LD121815 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Senator Luigi Franza, under secretary of the Italian Foreign ministry, visited Belgrade 11 and 12 January. Together with a group of experts, he had consultations with Budimir Loncar, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The talks, which were held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere, concerned cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of economic development; that is, the identification and analysis of the possibilities which have, since a short time ago, been presented by the Italian Government's fund for cooperation. In this framework Italy would, in the form of very favorable credits and help which would be to a certain extent nonreturnable, make available to Yugoslavia significant resources that would serve to support Yugoslavia in its efforts to implement economic stabilization and to overcome balance of payments difficulties, and would also support the development of scientific-technological cooperation.

Deputy Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar and Under Secretary Luigi Franza also considered some other issues in Yugoslav-Italian relations.